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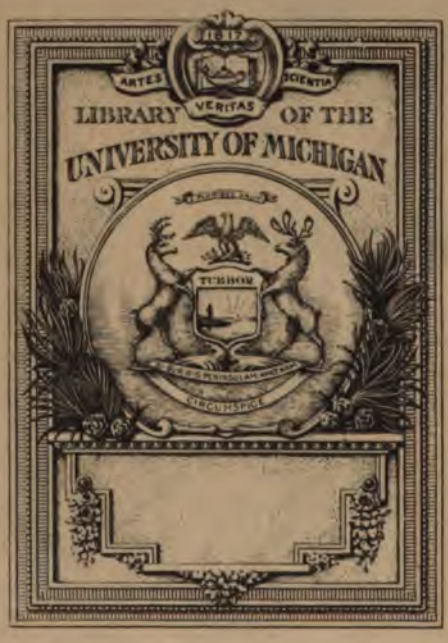
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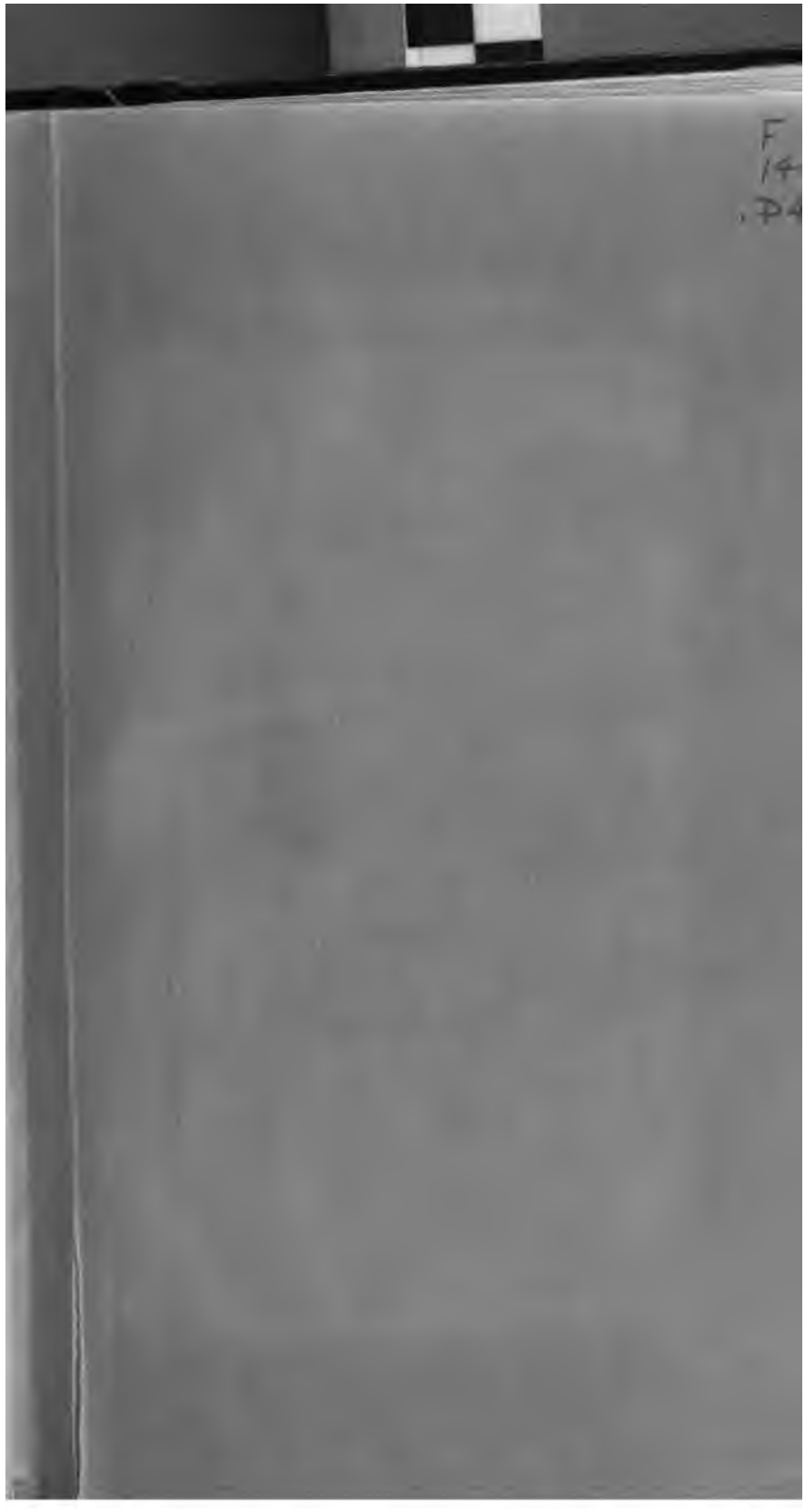
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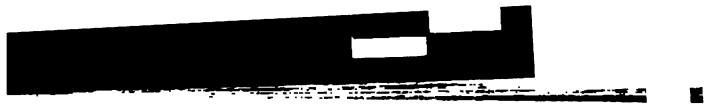

MEMOIRS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.

VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA:
CAREY, LEA & CAREY—CHESNUT STREET.

1827.

SKERRETT—NINTH STREET,
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Committee of Publication now present to their associates of the Society and to the public, the first part of a Second Volume of Historical Memoirs. They believe that its contents will be found to possess interest, and to be well deserving a perusal. Several articles intended for the present publication have been unavoidably deferred, papers communicated at an earlier date claiming a preference: among these should be mentioned Mr. Conyngham's History of Cumberland County, Mr. Emlen's Notes of Indian Speeches, and Mr. Watson's Extracts from his History of Philadelphia.

The Society have lately received a number of interesting communications, and have at this time in their hands, materials enough to complete the second volume, as soon as public patronage shall appear sufficient to justify them in putting it to press.

Nov. 23d, 1827.

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At a special meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held January 1st, 1827, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to ROBERTS VAUX, Esq. for his interesting and instructive discourse pronounced this day, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

From the Minutes,

T. M. PETTIT,
Recording Sec'ry.

ANNIVERSARY

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF THE

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

ON

JANUARY 1, 1827.

BY ROBERTS VAUX, ESQ.

ONE OF THE VICE PRESIDENTS.

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE, &c.

Gentlemen of the Historical Society,

YOUR generous estimate of my industry, assigned to me a duty, which, with unaffected solicitude and distrust of my qualifications, I come before you to perform.

My venerable and learned predecessor, to whose inaugural address we listened with so much instruction and pleasure about a year ago, left untouched by a master's hand, few, if any topics, which would be selected for a discourse on an occasion like the present.

More recently another acute inquirer* has collected numerous facts of great interest and value concerning primitive Pennsylvania, which adorned with the resources of his gifted and polished mind, have been submitted to our fellow citizens.

Thus ably anticipated in regard to most of the brilliant passages which gave lustre to our early annals, I can only ask your indulgence whilst I confine myself to an exposition in some detail, of a portion of our history, which, though less captivating, appears to me to be eminently worthy of respect and commemoration.

* Thomas I. Wharton's Annual address before the Penn Society, 1826.

The exalted sense of moral duty—the Christian benevolence, and other virtues that were displayed in the character and conduct of the Founder toward the Indian natives, deserved and have secured for that illustrious man, an imperishable renown. His great mind was uniformly influenced in his intercourse with the aborigines by those immutable principles of justice, which every where, and for all purposes must be regarded as fundamental, if human exertions are to be crowned with noble and permanent results.*

Long before Penn beheld his intended resting place, on the far distant shores of the Atlantic, he seems to have contemplated in the wide range of an enlightened philanthropy, that he might be instrumental to improve the condition of the natives; as

* It has recently been suggested, that the honourable purchase of the land from the Indians by Penn, on his first arrival in the province, is not entitled to the character of originality, and measure of praise heretofore awarded in that respect to the Founder of Pennsylvania. A full inquiry into the pretensions of those who colonized other sections of the North American continent, to an equality with the uniformly, just, and peaceable measures of Penn, has not in the least affected his claim to the honour so long conferred upon him. It is not perhaps generally known, that New Hampshire has had the credit for a purchase from the Indians in 1629. [Vide Appendix to Belknap's Hist. vol. 1, p. 289.] A late investigation, however, has shown that the deed there given by the historian, was *a forgery*, fabricated for the purpose of deciding a tedious litigation between the inhabitants of the then province, and the claimants under Mason. [Vide Winthrop's Hist. of N. England, edited by Savage, vol. 1, p. 405–424.]

in his petition to Charles the second, for a grant of land on the American Continent, he declares one of his objects in seeking to go there, to be, "*The glory of God, by the civilization of the poor Indians, and the conversion of the Gentiles by just and lenient measures to the kingdom of Christ.*"

The first outline of a constitution for those who intended to accompany the patriarchal chief to the wilderness, was prepared and adopted at London in 1681. It was modestly denominated "*certain conditions or concessions,*" but exhibits some striking proofs of intellectual power, and the original determinations of his judgment concerning the mode of treatment, which was to be pursued toward the Indians. It thus provided in the 13th, 14th, and 15th sections. "No man shall, by any ways or means, "in word or deed affront or wrong any Indian, but "he shall incur the same penalty of the law as if he "had committed it against his fellow planter, and "if any Indian shall abuse, in word or deed, any "planter of the province, he shall not be his own "judge upon the Indian, but he shall make his com-"plaint to the governor or some inferior magistrate "near him, who shall to the utmost of his power "take care with the king of the said Indian, that "all reasonable satisfaction be made to the injured "planter. All differences between the planters "and the natives shall also be ended by twelve "men; that is, by six planters and six natives; "that so we may live friendly together as much as "in us lieth, preventing all occasions of heart-burn-

"ings and mischiefs," and that "the Indians shall "have liberty to do all things relating to improve- "ment of their ground, and providing sustenance "for their families, that any of the planters shall "enjoy."

These noble aspirations, and wise resolutions, never forsook the mind of Penn, and all that could be taught by precept and by example, was taught and shown by this apostle of Christianity and morals, to his unenlightened brethren, to produce the great and good ends which he so ardently desired for them.

His coming, and the founding of his commonwealth—the great principles of religious and civil freedom which he promulgated, and established in the frame of government, and the various other distinguished acts which unquestionably place him on the loftiest eminence as a lawgiver, and benefactor of mankind, are familiar to you all.

The territory which he acquired had, however, to a certain extent, and for many years previously to his accession, been occupied by the Swedes and Dutch, and some intercourse had taken place between the tribes upon the Delaware, and the white inhabitants of the northern colonies, who, even at that early period, were given to the itinerant propensities in quest of gain, which distinguish not a few of their descendants to the present day.

The most formidable evil visited upon the Indians, and flowing from this connection with the Europeans, was the introduction of *ardent spirits*.

That terrible agent, the abuse of which dethrones the reason, blasts the fairest promise of intellectual power and cultivation, and gives loose to the worst tempers of mankind, even when claiming to be the subjects of civilized refinement and Christian control, did not fail to ensnare the unreflecting Indian, and feeding the fiercer passions of his unsubdued nature, fitted him for every atrocity, and made him the prey of every cruel artifice. The indulgence in the use of inebriating draughts had, moreover, the effect to introduce physical maladies, before unknown among them, and to subject them to outrage and wrong in the disposal of their lands and commodities; in short, that liquid fire threatened with swift destruction to sweep them from the face of the earth.

To protect the natives from such fearful and fatal consequences, the wise and virtuous lawgiver of Pennsylvania, saw, on his arrival, the necessity of interposing his authority to correct mischiefs which had existed antecedent to his possession of the province; he therefore, in 1682, thus declared and enacted, that "Whereas, divers persons, as English, "Dutch, Swedes, &c. have been wont to sell to the "Indians rum and brandy, and such like distilled "spirits, though they know the said Indians are not "able to govern themselves in the use thereof, but "do commonly drink of it to such excess as makes "them sometimes to destroy one another, and grievously annoy and disquiet the people of this province, and peradventure those of neighbouring governments, whereby they may make the poor na-

"tives worse, and not better for coming among them, "which is an heinous offence to God, and a reproach "to the blessed name of Christ and his holy religion. "It is therefore enacted, that no person within this "province, do from henceforth presume to sell or "exchange any rum or brandy, or any strong liquors, "at any time, to any Indian within this province, "and if any one shall offend therein, the person "so convicted shall for every such offence pay five "pounds."

Our virtuous forefathers who shared with Penn the toils and privations inseparable even from their peaceful conquest of the wilderness, felt with him a debt of gratitude for the kindness extended toward them by the aboriginal proprietors of the soil. They regarded it as a duty themselves, and enforced the obligation upon their descendants, to acknowledge, and if possible to extinguish that debt, by generous recompense of good will to the Indian race, through all future time. Instances of elevation of sentiment little to have been expected from the untutored sons of the forest—manifestations of sympathy worthy of the most refined minds, and deeds of charity performed by the natives to mitigate the sufferings of some of the first emigrants are well authenticated, and fruitful of the tenderest emotion. Not to have remembered these magnanimous traits of their character, and cherished for the authors of such liberality the strongest sense of the favours conferred, would indeed have been to place the civilized far below the savage man. But our ancestors did not for-

get the kindnesses of the friendly tribes who dwelt upon the soil which we now inhabit, and who bade them welcome to this land of promise.

In support of this position it is my design to furnish such testimony as it has been in my power to collect, by some research into the subject.

To rescue the natives from the destructive vice of intemperance, seems to have been a cardinal concern from the earliest time, and the religious Society of Friends used every effort to prevent the reproach and consequences of that evil from being charged upon them; for notwithstanding the prompt and discreet act of legislation by the proprietor, already noticed, and which was binding upon every inhabitant of the province, it appears that this formidable grievance claimed the care of their annual meeting in 1685. "This meeting," say they, "doth "unanimously agree and give as their judgment, "that it is not consistent with the honour of truth, "for any that make profession thereof, to sell rum "or other strong liquors to the Indians." In 1687, the substance of the preceding recommendation was issued by the same body, with this energetic addition; "and for the more effectually preventing this "evil practice as aforesaid, we advise that this our "testimony be entered in every monthly meeting "book, and that every friend belonging to the said "meeting do subscribe the same."

The most considerate regard for the welfare of their Indian neighbours, was uniformly manifested by that religious society, then forming a majority of

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cestors, was too soon overcast. Many were the wrongs inflicted on the primeval inhabitants, by individuals who abused the privileges so freely and universally guaranteed in the mild structure of the government, which was intended not as a protection to the oppressor, but as a sanctuary for the oppressed of every condition and clime.

The discontents which were excited among the Indians, through the means employed by the unprincipled persons to whom I have alluded, induced much solicitude in the mind of Penn and his friends, who assiduously exerted their authority and influence in the legislature, and elsewhere, to punish and prevent trespasses upon the acknowledged rights of the natives. The paternal care and personal oversight of the Founder, which had contributed so essentially to the best interests of all the inhabitants of the province, was unexpectedly terminated in 1701, when circumstances demanded the presence of William Penn in England. This was a most painful separation for the shepherd and his flock, as the former retired to leave those who were allied to him by the strongest ties of affection, exposed to accumulating difficulties and dangers, on every hand. He went—but in the inscrutable economy of Divine Providence, to return no more, to his beloved people and country in the western hemisphere.

Although the absence of the proprietary was severely felt by those who united with him for the wholesome administration of the government, and

necessarily interrupted the completion of some judicious improvements in its affairs, it did not abate their efforts to uphold the standard of peace and righteousness.. To conciliate the confidence and respect of the Indians, and meliorate their condition, remained to be prominent objects of their attention. William Penn himself had furnished a bright example of devotion to the best interests of those people, not only in his justice toward them, and by imparting advice when they met him in council at Philadelphia, but also by visiting them in their towns in distant parts of the province, an office of kindness to which he felt himself called, in his character of a minister of the gospel.

Many of his cotemporaries, influenced by the same pure motives, often fulfilled similar duties by going to the tribes in the interior, far from the confines of civilization. A visit of this kind was made in 1705, to the Seneca and Shawanese Indians, who then occupied the borders of the river Susquehanna, by the pious and amiable Thomas Chalkley. Some notes of what occurred whilst on this Christian errand have been preserved, which show that he was received with the greatest cordiality and hospitality by the natives, many of whom were deeply affected by his discourses. It is related that when Chalkley and his companions were about to part from the assembled Indians, an ancient queen, called Ojuncho, who is represented to have been a person of distinction, and who spoke frequently in their councils, thus addressed the venerable minister of peace,—

"I look upon your coming as more than natural,— "you came not to buy, and sell, and get gain, but "for our good—we desire the great spirit to keep "you from harm on your journey—and we bid you "farewell." The discernment, and kind feeling which dictated this brief but comprehensive speech, made a strong impression upon the minds of those who heard it, and led to inquiries of the Indians concerning the influence and authority which the queen had acquired among them, as it was not their custom thus to respect females, to which one of the chiefs answered, *"it is because some women are "wiser than some men."*

During the short administration of governor Hamilton, who was the first deputy after the return of the Founder to England, the government does not appear to have adopted any measures relative to the Indians; but, during the rule of his immediate successor, governor Evans, notice is taken in severe terms of certain traders who had gone into their country, and behaved in the most reprehensible manner. The governor himself was charged with unwarrantable conduct toward the natives during a visit he made to them in 1707, at Conestogoe, for which and other misdemeanors the assembly preferred such representations to William Penn, by three commissioners sent expressly for that purpose to London, as resulted in his dismissal from office, and the appointment of governor Gookin to succeed him.

In 1711, when a requisition was made by queen

Anne for aid from the northern colonies in reference to the expedition against Canada, an objection to a grant of money for such purposes necessarily arose in the minds of that part of the assembly of Pennsylvania who were conscientiously opposed to war, and they asserted as a reason why they should be excused from a tax, that the province had contributed, and was then expending large sums of money for the preservation of the friendship of the Indians, which they declared to be of the greatest importance, not only to Pennsylvania, but to all the neighbouring governments. This fact is in proof of the untiring labours of at least a portion of those in authority at that period, to maintain amicable relations with the natives.

That the Indians themselves were sensible of the pacific dispositions and good designs of those who sought their real happiness, and consequently that of the white inhabitants of the province, is demonstrable from their own declarations. A conference was held at Philadelphia in 1715, and attended by a large number of Delawares; on that occasion, Sassoonan, one of their chiefs, said,—

"The calumet, which we carried to all the na-
"tions, we have now brought here;—it is a sure
"bond of peace amongst them, and between us and
"you;—we desire, by holding up our hands, that
"the God of heaven may witness, that there may
"be a firm peace between you and us forever. We
"heard of some murmurs among some of our peo-
"ple, and to prevent any trouble we come to renew

"our former bond of friendship. When William "Penn first came, he made a clear, and open road, "all the way to the Indians; we desire the same "may be kept open, that all obstructions may be "removed, of which, on our side, we will take care. "Let the peace be so firm, that you and us, joined "hand in hand, even if the greatest tree falls, it "shall not divide us. As our fathers have been in "peace, so let us, and our children as they come "into the world hereafter, be in peace, that it may "be continued from generation to generation, for-"ever."

Such were the noble sentiments, the grateful recollections, and the honourable desires, of that high-minded race; and the promulgation of them is the more remarkable, because, before the council terminated, the same chief uttered the complaint of his nation, in this fearless and sarcastic strain: "I will "now speak of the trade between you and us. It "has been like a house with two doors, one for us, "and one for the English, but the goods were "placed in the dark, so that we did not know how "we were dealt with. We want the terms of trade "settled, so that we may no longer be in danger of "being cheated. We are often imposed upon by "the lightness of your money. You certainly know "the value of ours. I wish this evil put out of the "way."

In 1717, Sir William Keith succeeded governor Gookin, and proposed some essential changes in the conduct of affairs, that had from the beginning dis-

tinguished the province. Among them, and it cannot be too often mentioned to be condemned, was the repeal of the most merciful penal code the world had ever before known. He also suggested the institution of a paper currency, and of consequence encouraged a speculative spirit, which is always rife in the distemper created by paper credit. These attempts at innovation, alarmed the friends and adherents of the proprietor, and induced much discussion between Keith and the representatives of the people, in the early part of his administration. Whilst these cares and difficulties occupied the attention of the reflecting part of the inhabitants, an overwhelming affliction came upon them, by the death of William Penn. Connections were then rent asunder, which had united men under circumstances before, without a parallel in the history of human affairs, and which could not be restored by any earthly power. Whilst suffering deeply from the irreparable loss which the province had thus experienced, intelligence respecting the native tribes, of a very serious nature, reached the executive. A body of southern Indians had appeared in hostile array against the Five Nations, and had actually invaded the settlements on the Susquehanna. Now for the first time since the foundation of the colony, were its peaceful inhabitants threatened with the horrors of war, and it may readily be conceived what anxiety the prospect of such a calamity awakened. The assembly urged governor Keith to pursue measures which would secure tranquillity between

the white people, and their Indian neighbours, as well as to use his endeavours to put an end to the differences existing between the tribes, who were about to begin a bloody conflict, assuring him that for the accomplishment of these good ends, the legislature would vote the most liberal supplies. The governor accordingly repaired to Virginia, and made satisfactory arrangements with the authorities of that government, to restrain the Potomac Indians, and after his return, held a treaty at Conestogoe, with deputies of the Five Nations. That interview took place in 1721, and the Indians gave an account of the causes which brought about their difficulties. One of the chiefs said, "that all their disorders "arose from the use of rum, which took away their "sense, and memory—that they had no such liquor "among themselves, and were hurt with what the "white people brought among them." He spoke in the most affectionate terms of William Penn, denominating him, "*The great and good Onas,*" and used this figurative language in concluding his remarks. "The Five Nations faithfully remember "all their ancient treaties, and now desire that the "chain of Friendship, may be made so strong, as "that none of the links can ever be broken; but as "a chain may become rusty, we desire it may now "be so well cleaned, as to remain brighter and "stronger than ever it was before." The conference was brought to a favourable issue, furnishing another instance of the happy effects, which flowed from a kind treatment of the natives.

The repose which these measures had produced, was not of long duration, for in the next year a circumstance occurred, more unhappy than any which had before transpired. An Indian was barbarously killed in the vicinity of Conestogoe, by a white man. This was the first blood wantonly spilled by the hand of a European upon the soil of Pennsylvania, of which there was any record from its foundation. An outrage of so fearful an import, and likely to be followed by speedy retaliation, to what extent no one could foretell, greatly alarmed the friends of order and peace, who immediately adopted measures to compose the Indians, and secure the due administration of justice, upon the author of such cruelty. James Logan and John French, two influential members of the council, forthwith proceeded to the scene of trouble, and assured the Indians of the abhorrence in which the government held the foul deed that had been perpetrated; they left no means unemployed to heal the wound that had been inflicted on their long friendship, and by causing the offender to be arrested, satisfied the relatives of the deceased person, that the law should be rigidly enforced. On the return of the commissioners a full statement of the affair was submitted to the assembly. That body seem to have regarded the condition of things as very serious and critical, and was not without gloomy anticipations, in regard to the future security of the province. An address was sent to the governor, which presented a concise exposition of the sentiments of the assembly on the afflicting oc-

casion—bringing to his notice the conduct of the Founder, and his associates towards the Indians, pressed the necessity of maintaining the ancient friendship—recommended the execution of strict justice—represented the frequent complaints of the natives, that strong liquors were carried and sold among them by the traders, &c.—concluding with these words. "At the relation of the dismal cir-"cumstances, we were filled with horror and sur-"prise, that after so long continuance of the peace "first settled by the honourable proprietary William "Penn with the Indians, any breach should be now "made by those under the name of Christians, to "the reproach of that name, and danger of the "safety and peace, both of this province and others."

This impressive communication led to an immediate conference with the Chiefs of the Five Nations at Albany, when they were so fully satisfied of the sincerity of the government of Pennsylvania to do them justice, and prevent or punish all such abuses in future, that, remarkable as it may seem, the Indians interceded for the murderer, and the difficulty was amicably settled.

The assembly regardful of its duty, and conforming to the intimation given to the governor, in the address before noticed, passed at the next session, "*An act to prohibit the selling of rum, and other strong liquors, to the Indians, and to prevent abuses that may happen thereby.*"

Individuals of the Society of Friends, who were members of the legislature, were mainly instrumen-

tal in devising and giving effect to the public measures necessary on an occasion of so much moment to the peace of the country; and the society as such, availed itself of the earliest opportunity, to declare its sense of what was due to the Indians, as well as to guard its members from any connection with causes from which manifestly flowed so much evil to the natives, and mischief to the province.

I cannot refrain from quoting the language employed at their annual assembly next ensuing the melancholy event that has been noticed. "When," (say they,) "way was made for our worthy friends, "the proprietors and owners of lands in this pro- "vince, to make their first settlements, it pleased "the *Almighty God*, by his overruling providence, "to influence the native Indians, so as to make them "very helpful and serviceable to those early set- "tlers, before they could raise stocks or provisions "to sustain themselves and families. And it being "soon observed, that those people, when indulging "in the use of strong liquors, set no bounds to them- "selves, but were apt to abuse and destroy one an- "other, there came a religious care and concern up- "on friends, both in their meetings and legislature, "to prevent those abuses. Nevertheless some peo- "ple preferring their lucre, before the common "good, continued in this evil practice, so that our "yearly meeting in 1687, testified that the practice "of selling rum, or other strong liquors, to the In- "dians, directly or indirectly, or exchanging the "same for any goods or merchandize with them is

"displeasing to the *Lord*, a dishonour to truth, and "a grief to all good people. And although this tes- "timony hath been since renewed by several yearly "meetings, it is yet notorious, that the same hath "not been duly observed by some persons, and "therefore it hath become the weighty concern of "this meeting, earnestly to recommend the said tes- "timony to the strict observance of all friends, and "where any under our profession shall act contrary "thereunto, let them be speedily dealt with, and "censured for such their evil practice."

From a root so deleterious as that which gave rise to this rebuke and warning, might be expected to spring a multitude of wrongs, and it really seems to have been the bane of the aborigines. It was on that part of the American continent, called New England, that the barbarous practice of enslaving them had its origin.* It was the theatre of many sorrows for that injured race. As far back as 1614, an instance of this cruel kind of outrage upon the persons and rights of the natives took place. A no-

* Among the first laws of the New England colonists it was provided, "*that none should be bought or sold for slaves, but "those who are taken in war, or made such by authority.*" The frequent wars which took place between the settlers and natives, through a long course of years, must often have supplied the colonists with prisoners, who by law became slaves, and were disposed of as such. After a battle, which occurred in the summer of the year 1637, according to Neal, their historian, about two hundred Indian prisoners fell into the hands of the colonists, and suffered the legal consequences of captivity.

torious trader in those parts, one Hunt, seems to have been more conspicuous and daring, than most of the adventurers of that early period. On a certain occasion, after having made some smart bargains in his traffic with the natives, he enticed about thirty of those deluded beings on board his vessel, secured them under the hatches, transported them to Malaga, and sold them to the Spaniards.*

Some individuals thus enslaved, appear to have been introduced into Pennsylvania about 1722, but from what causes, or by whom retained in bondage, does not appear. Acts of that kind were assuredly in violation of the spirit of the laws and the public faith, and yet I do not discover any other notice of the subject than that taken of it by the annual meeting of Friends, held at Philadelphia in that year. After expressing many kind sentiments concerning the Indians, they declare, "*that to avoid "giving them discontent, the members of their so-"ciety shall not buy or sell Indian slaves.*"

The population of the province now began to be more mixed by the influx of settlers, not only from Europe, but the neighbouring colonies, whose sentiments and habits were alien from the principles and practice of the first emigrants, and thus were sown the seeds of disaffection, which afterwards produced serious difficulties with the Indians. In 1727, the deputies of the Five Nations, complained at a council held with governor Gordon, of the un-

* Vide Neal's History of New England, London edition, 1747.

fair dealing and brutal conduct of the traders, who had greatly increased in their country. Then for the first time they expressed their fears at the erection of forts by the English and French within their acknowledged territory, and desired that the white people should not be permitted to reside beyond certain points, which they designated. In the following year, at a conference in Philadelphia, further discontents were manifested, and although the governor was present, and according to the ceremony at such interviews, should have been addressed by the Indian chief, it appears that *Sassoonan* approached James Logan, their well-known and constant friend, and said, "I am grown old, "and am troubled to see the Christians settle on "lands that the Indians never were paid for. I am "now old, and must soon die. My children will "wonder to see all their father's land gone without "receiving any thing for it. The Christians are "settling very near to us, and we shall soon have "no place of our own left to live upon. This may "occasion a difference between my children and "yours, and I wish to prevent any misunderstand-"ing that may happen." This affecting appeal produced an examination of the deeds given at several of the early treaties for the purchase of their land, in order to ascertain the justness of the charge of the ancient chief, from which it appeared, that encroachments had been made, though not by any direct authority of the proprietaries. A portion of the spirit of justice and peace, which was so eminently

displayed in the transactions of the Founder with the natives, still influenced the legislature of the province, and this occasion was embraced to urge the governor to pursue measures for the removal of the causes which dissatisfied the Indians.

In 1732, Thomas Penn, one of the proprietaries, arrived from England. His presence was hailed with joy by such of the inhabitants as felt a deep interest in the honour and welfare of the province, because they hoped he might contribute to allay the feverish mood which had arisen from various sources, but more especially those which threatened to impair the harmony, that, from the days of his illustrious father, had been preserved between themselves and the natives. Several important questions were then discussed, and among others, the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, a survey of which was made and confirmed by the parties interested. The proprietor had several meetings with the Indians, in order to arrange their land affairs, which, however, did not result to their satisfaction. He also, with a view to raise money, devised a *lottery* for the disposal of one hundred thousand acres of land. This was an original attempt to introduce legalized gambling into Pennsylvania, and though the mischievous plan was frustrated, the mere proposition, seriously, and with good reason, impaired the confidence which some of the people of the province had been wont to repose in the proprietary.

Part of the land selected for prizes in the con-

templated raffle, lay within the region claimed by the natives, who, on being apprized of the fact, uttered loud complaints, and for the first time threatened to resist any invasion of their territory. Thomas Penn's visit to the province, certainly did not contribute to strengthen the friendship of the Indians, and when he returned to England in 1741, the assembly, in addressing him, said, "whatever "differences of opinion may have happened between "us, we hope thou wilt believe the freemen of the "province retain a proper regard for the proprie-"tary," &c.; plainly showing that a disagreement had existed, and that their separation was not on the cordial terms of their meeting.

John Penn, the eldest of the proprietaries, and who was, moreover, born in the province, made a visit to it in 1734. He remained only a year, and does not appear to have taken any prominent part in the affairs of that period. It is probable that he did not approve his brother's measures, as the assembly took leave of him with evident regret in these words. "The humility, justice, and benevo-"lence which has appeared in thy conduct since "thy arrival here, has very deservedly gained thee "the esteem and affection of the people, and we do "with truth say, thy leaving us at this time, gives "an universal concern to the inhabitants of this pro-"vince." They also expressed a hope that they might soon have the happiness of seeing him "*re-*"*turn, a blessing to his native country.*" In this, however, they were disappointed, as he died in England in 1746.

Of the surviving members of the proprietary's family who had an interest in the province, I would desire to speak with due respect; but the fidelity of history must not be renounced to screen from censure even the immediate offspring of the Founder, if it can be shown that they departed from the bright path in which their father had walked.

My purpose is not to judge them so harshly as to attribute to them, or their agents in the province, all the unhappy misunderstandings with the natives, which gradually led to hostilities, after a peace of seventy years. I know that causes were silently operating, and effects becoming manifest, which were beyond their control; but without breach of charity or truth, it may be asserted that they frequently preferred pecuniary advantages to a regard for the principles which animated their honourable parent, even with the consequent reward of "*durable riches and righteousness.*" "*If my heirs do not keep to God, in the justice, mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, they will lose all, and desolation will follow,*" a memorable sentiment of the Founder, expressed in 1682, was of prophetic import, and has certainly been fulfilled as it respects their property and rule in Pennsylvania.*

* It is a remarkable fact, that none of the children, or other descendants of the Founder of Pennsylvania who had an interest in the province after his death, were members of the Religious Society of which their great progenitor was so distinguished an ornament. This circumstance is not related to convey the least unfavourable opinion of any other Christian denomination, as the writer humbly trusts, that his mind is uninfluenced by bigotry.

Avarice is a grovelling passion that did not degrade that portion of the human family by some denominated *savages*, at any rate not those tribes with whom our ancestors had intercourse. Ambition and sordid interest formed no part of their character. An Indian who once inquired what the Christians intended to convey by the word *covetousness*, on being told that it signified a desire of more than a man had need of, exclaimed, "*that is a strange thing.*" Is it then marvellous that they should be offended, when they saw a disposition in the Europeans to overrun their possessions, and to compass gain at any sacrifice? Disgust and contempt were the emotions produced in their minds by observing that desire for gold which, by this time, it was too evident was the ruling motive of many of the emigrants; and at every conference with the Indians, from 1741, down to 1754, they avowed their opinions on this point, and fearlessly contended for the preservation of their departing rights. I will not detain you by attempting even a sketch of Indian history through the period of fourteen years, to which I have alluded. It will form an important page in our annals, and should be examined and developed with great moral courage, and equitable circumspection. It is sufficient for my purpose to remark, that the transactions of that time establish the fact, that those who felt obligations of gratitude toward the natives, pursued one consistent course, and laboured with conscientious zeal to secure for them a full measure of justice, at the hands of those, who then administered the government.

It is my duty here to notice an accession of valuable emigrants to the province, which occurred in 1740. In that year the Moravian brethren, led by Count Zinzindorf, for the more perfect enjoyment of civil and religious privileges, found an asylum in Pennsylvania, and commenced their well known settlements at Nazareth and Bethlehem, a part of the country then only inhabited by tribes of Indians. They devoted themselves in a remarkable manner, for the improvement of the condition of the aborigines, by inculcating the indestructible truths of the Gospel, to the consolations of which they were instrumental to bring the minds of many of the natives; they also succeeded in giving some of that race a relish for the comforts of civilized life, and a proper estimate of the benefits of agricultural pursuits. The Indians uniformly found them to be judicious advisers, and firm friends, and they co-operated with that part of the Europeans who preceded them here, in anxious and assiduous efforts, to protect the natives from injustice. The unity of the object of this address, and the limited space allowed, compel me to be thus brief in noticing the character and services of that excellent body of people. This is the more admissible, as the labours of Loskiel, and, more recently, those of the venerable Heckewelder, have already made generally known the obligations under which humanity lies, to those indefatigable and unpretending votaries of Christianity.

Near the close of the year 1754, it was observed that movements among the Indians indicated the

approach of more formidable difficulties, than had heretofore arisen. Messengers were frequently passing between tribes remotely situated, and the French were using their influence to alienate the Delawares from their ancient friends of Pennsylvania, whilst the injuries they complained of on account of their lands, and the wrongs inflicted on them by the traders, contributed to make them an easier prey to the accomplished diplomacy of the agents of France. The executive of the province, if watchful of the "*signs of the times*," manifested no inclination to secure the good will of the Indians residing within its borders, by removing the causes of discontent, but adopted various measures of defence against the French, which the natives regarded as preparations for a war with them.

This state of things was contemplated with deep regret by that part of the inhabitants who desired the preservation of peace, and their intercessions with the governor and council, as to the course necessary to be pursued to secure the fidelity of the Indians, were not duly regarded. Meanwhile the public mind paused, and dwelt upon the gloomy aspect of affairs. Every one believed that a crisis was rapidly approaching, and its arrival was awaited with intense solicitude. At length, in the spring of 1755, information reached Philadelphia that the Indians in Virginia had commenced the work of destruction, and during the course of the year similar tidings were received from the western and northern frontiers of Pennsylvania. The war-

whoop and shriek of the exasperated savage, were wafted on every breeze that came from the verge of civilization. Over the hitherto peaceful and distant settlements, the most fearful desolation impended, and the defenceless inhabitants fled before a fierce and merciless foe, seeking refuge among their brethren in the more eastern parts of the province. Here, too, pity and dismay whelmed the hearts of some, whilst a spirit of indignation and revenge was hurrying the minds of others to instant retaliation. Under the pressure of popular excitement, and without counting the awful cost of such an act, governor Morris and his council determined to issue a declaration of war against the Delaware and Shawanese Indians. At this momentous conjuncture, a number of members of the Society of Friends, among whom were the Pembertons, the excellent Benezet, and others of distinguished repute, assembled to consider whether it might be in their power to render any service to their country and to humanity, in this hour of affliction. The result of the conference was a belief, that if hostilities could be postponed, and a communication had with some of the chiefs, the terrible consequences of an Indian war might yet be averted. They, therefore, presented the following address to

"Robert Hunter Morris, Esq. Lieutenant-go-
"vernor, &c.:—The humble address of some of the
"people called Quakers, residing in the city of Phi-
"ladelphia, on behalf of themselves and many
"others:—

"With hearts sorely distressed and deeply affect-
"ed with the calamities of our fellow subjects, and
"painfully apprehensive of the desolation conse-
"quent of an Indian war, we address the governor,
"and earnestly entreat thy favourable attention on
"this solemn and important occasion, in which the
"lives and liberties of the people of this province
"are so nearly concerned. We have, with the most
"sensible concern and pain of mind, observed the
"sorrowful alteration in the state of this late peace-
"ful province, now become the theatre of bloodshed
"and rapine, and distressed by the cruel devasta-
"tion of a barbarous enemy, which justly excites
"the most aggravating reflections in every conside-
"rate mind; yet, when we consider that all wars
"are attended with fatal consequences, and one
"with enemies so savage as those who have now
"become ours, with circumstances the most shock-
"ing and dreadful, we cannot omit beseeching, that
"before the resolution of declaring war against them
"be carried into execution, some further attempts
"may be made by pacific measures to reduce them
"to a sense of their duty, and that a further oppor-
"tunity may be offered to such as may be willing
"to separate from those who had been the wicked
"instruments of perverting them. The settlement
"of this province was founded on the principles of
"truth, equity, and mercy, and the blessing of Di-
"vine Providence attended the early care of the
"first founders to impress these principles on the
"minds of the native inhabitants; so that when

"their numbers were great and their strength vastly
"superior, they received our ancestors with glad-
"ness—relieved their wants with open hearts,
"granted them peaceable possession of the land,
"and for a long course of time gave constant proofs
"of a cordial friendship; all which we humbly
"ascribe to the infinite wisdom and goodness of
"God, 'whose hand is for good upon all them that
"seek him;' and as the angelic acclamations of
"glory to God in the highest, peace on earth and
"good will to men, with which the birth of our
"Lord Jesus Christ was published, and the exam-
"ples and precepts which he as the Prince of Peace
"gave through the course of his personal appear-
"ance on earth, have given us undoubted assurance
"that the day is dawning in which his peaceable
"reign will be exalted, and gradually become uni-
"versal; we cannot, without neglect of our duty,
"and sacrificing the peace of our consciences, which
"we prefer to every temporal blessing, omit re-
"viving our testimony in this time of probation,
"that all wars appear to us contrary to the nature
"and end of the gospel dispensation, and that we
"still firmly believe that on an humble and steady
"acquiescence with the dispensations of Divine
"Providence our real protection and security de-
"pends, from which no temporal inconveniences
"and difficulties can justify our departing. Yet,
"while we earnestly desire all may attain to this
"happy experience, we do not presume to prescribe,
"but as our minds feel more than our words can

"express of pain and anxiety for our brethren and
"fellow Christians whose desolation we fear will
"be increased and perpetuated by a hasty declara-
"tion of war, we find ourselves obliged to beseech
"the governor to resume the most weighty, serious,
"and religious deliberation on this melancholy oc-
"casion, that so every measure which hath been
"pursued, and whatever remains possible to be
"done to prevent so fatal and lamentable an extre-
"mity, may be strictly and impartially reviewed
"and considered. That full inquiry may be made,
"whether some apprehensions these Indians have
"conceived of a deviation from the integrity of con-
"duct towards them, so conspicuous in the first
"establishment of Pennsylvania, may not unhappily
"have contributed in some degree to the alteration
"of their conduct towards us: that full time may be
"allowed for those Indians who still remain well
"affected towards us, to use and report the effect of
"their endeavours to reconcile our enemies, and
"that proper care may be taken to prevent our allies
"being, through the misconduct or evil dispositions
"of any, injured in such manner as to provoke them
"likewise to turn their arms against us; and, that
"the governor's care to guard against involving the
"innocent with the guilty, may carry so clear de-
"monstration of Christian tenderness and aversion
"to shedding blood, that an evidence may be given
"to the minds of the other neighbouring Indians,
"which may engage them heartily and sincerely to
"assist in the desirable work of restoring peace

"and tranquillity, towards which all the measures
"hitherto taken seem to have contributed little good
"effect. We, therefore, with sincerity and ardency,
"pray, that the calamities may be averted which
"will ensue on a continued war with these savages,
"some of the melancholy effects of which the an-
"nals of a neighbouring province full of the most
"warlike people, have testified; and as the fear of
"God, love of our brethren and fellow Christians,
"are the motives which engage us to make this
"address, we hope to demonstrate by our conduct
"that every occasion of assisting and relieving the
"distressed, and contributing towards the obtaining
"peace, in a manner consistent with our peaceable
"profession, will be cheerfully improved by us, and
"even though a much larger part of our estates
"should be necessary than the heaviest taxes of a
"war can be expected to require, we shall cheer-
"fully, by voluntary grants, evidence our sincerity
"herein. May the mind of the governor be indued
"with that wisdom which the wisest of kings ex-
"perienced to be 'better than weapons of war,' and
"may thy councils be directed to the honour of
"God, and good of the people, over whom thou
"presidest, is our sincere desire and prayer."

I make no apology for having given entire this energetic and touching appeal, because it has never before been published. However much it may have affected the mind of the governor, when he was afterwards waited upon by some of the gentlemen who had signed it, he informed them that he had sub-

mitted their address to the council, who, with himself, had notwithstanding resolved to proclaim war, as soon as some measures of precaution should be completed.

Having, as they supposed, failed in their endeavours with the executive, these benevolent men deemed it right to communicate their opinions and views to the assembly of the freemen of the province, to which body a memorial was presented of similar tenor with that sent to the governor. Thus affairs remained for a few days. During this interval, three or four chiefs of the Six Nations, and one of the Delawares, unexpectedly came to Philadelphia, with whom a conference was held by some of the individuals before-mentioned, in the presence of Conrad Weiser, a confidential provincial interpreter, who had been long familiar with the Indians, and who gave it as his opinion, that these chiefs manifested more pacific dispositions, than he had for a long time before observed. The interpreter said to the Friends, "my advice to you is to call "together as many of your ancient men, survivors "of the first settlers, as you can collect, meet the "Indians again, repeat and enforce your first con-"versation, and present them with a belt of wam-"pum." This was accordingly done, and the governor made acquainted with what had occurred; he was at the same time assured, that if he would advise and direct further proceedings it would be gratifying to the intercessors, who wished to do nothing but what might be perfectly agreeable to him,

in effectually prosecuting the great object in view; and he was moreover told, that for prosecuting pacific measures he should be supplied with five thousand pounds by the private "subscriptions of the "members of their religious society." A mediation was thus providentially acknowledged, and messengers dispatched to the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, who resided on the Susquehanna, bearing suitable communications, and affording an opportunity for ascertaining their disposition to restore harmony. Israel Pemberton, likewise, immediately opened a correspondence with Sir Charles Hardy, Governor of New York, and Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs for the North American colonies, informing them of the interposition of Friends in Pennsylvania, and soliciting their aid to accomplish the merciful object they had in view. From both those gentlemen he received assurances of hearty concurrence in their plan for restoring peace to the province. The agents who had been sent to Wyoming soon returned, with satisfactory accounts of the friendly dispositions of the Indians in that quarter, and brought with them speeches made on behalf of the Indians, at the council held at Teaogon. Paxinosa spoke thus—"The "dark clouds overspread our country so suddenly, "that we were all at once separated—the dark "cloud got in between us—but it has pleased the "Most High to remove it a little, so that we can "just see one another again. Our eyes are running "with tears at seeing our country covered with your

"blood and ours. Let me wipe the tears from your "eyes. As you came a great way and through dan- "gerous places, where evil spirits reign, who might "have put several things in your way to obstruct "your business, this string of wampum serves to "clear your mind, that you may speak freely to "us." After which, Teedyuscung, a Delaware chief, said—

"*Brother Onas, and People of Pennsylvania,*

"I rejoice to hear from you—that you are willing "to renew the old understanding, and that you call "to mind the first treaties of friendship made by "Onas, our great friend, who is dead, with our fore- "fathers, when himself and his people first came "over here. We take hold of these treaties with "both our hands, and desire you will do the same, "that a good understanding and true friendship "may be re-established; let us both take hold of "these treaties with all our strength we beseech "you, we on our side will certainly do it.

"Brother Onas—What you said to us we took "to heart, and it entered into our heart, and we speak "to you from our heart, and we will deal honestly "with you in every respect.

"Brother Onas—We desire you will look upon "us with eyes of mercy—we are a very poor peo- "ple, our wives and children are almost naked, we "are void of understanding, and destitute of the ne- "cessaries of life—pity us."

Another deputation was soon after sent, and an

interchange of friendly sentiments took place between the governor and the tribes on the Susquehanna, by whose agency pacific overtures were also made to the Six Nations more remotely situated. In a memorandum book kept by the Friends of Philadelphia, whose interposition was so judicious and effectual, I find this record. "From the time "of the first messenger's arrival at the Susquehanna, "the hostilities on our northern frontiers ceased, "and an acceptable respite being obtained for our "distressed fellow subjects, we enjoyed so much "satisfaction and real pleasure, in this happy event "of our endeavours, as to engage us cheerfully to "pursue the business we had begun, though many "malicious aspersions were cast upon us, by per-"sons from whom we had a right to expect encou-"ragement and assistance."

One of the objects of the message of governor Morris to the Indians, was a proposition for meeting their chiefs to treat of peace, which, being accepted by them, the parties agreed to meet at Easton in the early part of the summer of 1756. The few individuals who had been instrumental to accomplish so much good in so short a time, determined to give such further attention to the subject as its importance merited—a subject to which they believed themselves called by the highest obligations of duty, and regard for the public welfare. They were, moreover, informed that Teedyuscung, the king of the Delawares, had expressed to the governor's messengers, his own and the wishes of his people,

"that the Quakers, who had taken the first steps "toward the restoration of tranquillity, should at- "tend the approaching treaty." In order to prepare for this, and other occasions that might arise, it was believed that considerable funds would be required, and it became necessary to increase the number of individuals engaged, and give a suitable designation to their proceedings. A meeting was therefore immediately called, at which many of their fellow members in religious society assembled, who agreed to some general principles of government, under the title of *"The Friendly Association "for regaining and preserving peace with the "Indians, by pacific measures."* Twelve hundred pounds were forthwith subscribed to defray the expenses of attending with presents for the Indians at Easton, and in a few hours afterwards, upwards of twenty members of the association, deputed to the service, left Philadelphia for the treaty ground. Several days elapsed after they reached Easton, before the *Council fire* was lighted, and during the interval, several of the deputation ascertained that their presence was not grateful to the governor and his attendants. They were, however, men who could not easily be alarmed, or driven from their beneficent purpose, and after several interviews with the proprietary agents, their attendance was recognised, and the conference was opened in due form, by governor Morris and the native chiefs. Little farther was done on the occasion, than an interchange of assurances between the executive and the

Indians, that hostile movements should cease on both sides, and that in the autumn a treaty should be held at the same place, for the full explanation and adjustment of the existing disputes. The Indian king, on parting with the deputies of the association, expressed his satisfaction at having their company, and begged their kind notice of them by attending future councils. In the latter part of the ensuing fall, a number of representatives of the association, went again to Easton, and, with the Indians, awaited the coming of the newly-appointed governor Denny, who soon after arrived, and proceeded to the interesting investigation which had been promised. After the appropriate Indian ceremonies were performed, one of the chiefs spoke; he referred to the ancient treaties of their forefathers with the first emigrants to the province, and declared their desire to renew the friendship, upon the same liberal and just basis. Several days were spent in preliminary discussions, and at length, king Teedyuscung, in a speech of much energy, ability, and fearlessness, portrayed the history of their wrongs, and demanded retribution at the hands of the governor. This unlooked for recital and requisition, alarmed some of the proprietary agents, and an effort was made to prevent any further elucidation of the subject, which, however, the intrepid and indignant chief at first resisted. The introduction of ardent spirits—the voracious appetite for their hunting grounds—the evil conduct of the traders, and particularly the famous *walking purchase*, as it was

called, were the prominent topics of the king's discourse; and these matters were brought home with such precision and effect, as to forbid denial or justification on the part of those who were implicated. At a subsequent session of the council, the Indians were convinced, that for want of certain deeds, and other writings, which were in Philadelphia, a full understanding could not be had of some of the points in question, and they consented to refer the subject to a future time, requesting their friends of the association, to examine the public records on their behalf, to satisfy themselves of the truth of the assertions their chief had made. The treaty was closed after the customary presentation of gifts, and I quote from the manuscript notes of one of the most efficient individuals of the association, who was there, an interesting anecdote, which furnishes the strongest evidence of the nature of the relations which subsisted between the deputation and the natives. "Teedyuscung, and most of "his people came to the ferry to take leave of us. "The king remarked to two of our company,* that "what had been said to him a few days before, "went to his heart, and brought tears into his eyes, "that he now found his heart affected in the same "manner, (his speaking was interrupted by much "emotion,) when he added, that in the course of this "business he had endeavoured to look up to God "for direction, that when he was alone in the woods,

* Israel Pemberton and Isaac Zane.

"and destitute of any other counsellor, he found "by doing so, he had the best direction, that he "hoped God would bless our endeavours, and de- "sired to be remembered by us when we were far "from him. He followed us to the boat, and was "so much affected, he could only by tears express "his gratitude and respect, which, as it appeared "to be the effect of a divine visitation to a savage "barbarian, was a humbling scene, and excited re- "verent and thankful sentiments in the minds of "those who observed it."

From the purest motives, the association continued devoted to the cause it had espoused, and on many subsequent occasions by furnishing liberal funds, enabled the assembly to hold treaties and make presents to the Indians, which could not otherwise have been done, owing to the exhausted state of the provincial treasury. At every conference with the natives, some of its members were appointed to attend, and on many occasions, great fatigue, exposure, and privation were endured, by travelling to remote points in a desert country, to fulfil those arduous duties. The sole purpose of all these labours was the peace of the province, and the association knew that this great result could only be speedily and certainly attained, by satisfying the just demands of the Indians in paying them for their land. They well knew that this was the corner stone upon which Penn and their ancestors laid their claim to the regard of the natives. In a letter to governor Denny in 1757, they emphatically say, "This province

"was settled on terms very different from most of "the other colonies: the first adventurers were men "of substance and reputation, who purchased the "land of the proprietary, and as he obliged himself "and his heirs, by an express covenant contained in "their original deeds, to clear the land from all "titles, claims, and demands of the Indians, they "agreed to pay an annual quit rent, more than suf-"ficient to enable him to satisfy the natives, and "obtain a peaceable possession of the soil. During "the lives of our first proprietary, and the first set-"tlers, we believe this was faithfully performed, "and so large a balance remained towards making "further purchases as the settlement of the country "increased, that any attempt to elude the original "intention and agreement of fairly purchasing the "land of the people who had a native right to it, "will ever be condemned by all impartial and ho-"nest men."

Such were the wholesome truths which those honourable politicians marshalled before the highest authority of the province—they asked for no more than common justice for the poor Indians, and they had a right to see this measure of justice administered, for the reasons assigned in their address to the governor. But these were unpalatable doctrines for the proprietaries, who, through their agents here, were by this time made acquainted with the ground which was taken by the association to sustain the claims of the natives, regain their friendship, and vindicate themselves. The case here was too pal-

pable to be denied, or availingly opposed. But the proprietaries who were in England, managed to bring the authority of the British government to crush if possible these advocates of the just rights of the Indians, as we shall presently see. A treaty being about to be held, a committee of the association in its uniformly respectful manner waited upon the governor with an offer of its funds, and also to acquaint him that a deputation would attend as on previous occasions, if it met his approbation. To which governor Denny replied, that expecting they would call, he had prepared a written communication, which he presented to them as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"The proprietaries have acquainted me that the "earl of Halifax has communicated to them with "very strong expressions of dissatisfaction, that a "treaty was held with the Indians at Philadelphia, "and the people called Quakers, which his lordship "was pleased to think was the most extraordinary "procedure he had ever seen in persons who are on "the same footing only with all others of the king's "private subjects, to presume to treat with foreign "princes. And further, that as the suffering any "one part of the king's subjects, whether of a differ-"ent profession of religion, or, however, else distin-"guished, to treat or act as mediators between a "province in which they live and any independent "people, is the highest invasion of his majesty's pre-"rogative royal, and of the worse consequence, as

"it must tend to divide the king's subjects into dif-
"ferent parties and interests, and by how much
"more these, or any other body of people are suf-
"fered to attach the Indians to their own particular
"interest, by so much the less must their regard to
"people of other professions be. The proprietaries
"have therefore directed me not to suffer those peo-
"ple, or any other body or particular society in
"Pennsylvania to concern themselves in any treaty
"with the Indians, or on any pretence to suffer pre-
"sents from such persons to be given to the Indians,
"or to be joined with the public presents at any
"such treaty. These directions I shall conform to,
"and my regard to you, as well as the proprietaries
"instructions, lead me to observe, it would be pru-
"dent in you to decline going in a body—your at-
"tendance at treaties as a distinct society, having
"given great offence *to the ministry.*"

If proof had before been wanting to convince any reasonable man of the ungenerous dispositions of the proprietaries and their agents, toward the Indians, or of their determination to prevent the dispensation of equity and justice, even at the risk of savage warfare and desolation, to the exposed inhabitants of the province, this extraordinary measure could not fail to put the matter at rest forever!

Can it be believed, that without the direct interposition to which I have alluded, the British ministry could have been induced to make so formidable an attack upon a few ancient and pacific men, in a remote colony, whose only aims were the promotion

of the welfare of its people? Certainly if the proprietaries had not meddled in this affair, his majesty and his ministers never could have dreamed of an invasion of the royal prerogative, and all the other frightful evils complained of, and, however much the fact is to be regretted, I am satisfied that the position originally laid down in regard to the proprietary feeling concerning the Indians, is fairly and fully established *

* The magnanimous conduct of PRESIDENT WASHINGTON toward the Society of Friends, in a case similar to that which incurred the displeasure of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, their agents, and the British ministry, is deemed worthy of record. In 1792, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia was seriously affected, on account of the war that had then for some time subsisted on the western frontiers, between the inhabitants of those parts and the Indians. This concern led to the presentation of an address to the president and congress of the United States, expressive of sympathy with the white people and Indians, who were suffering from hostilities; acknowledging a continued sense of gratitude to the natives, whose forefathers cherished and assisted their ancestors in the early settlement of the country, and earnestly requesting that the cause of the uneasiness of the Indians might be investigated and removed. The address was respectfully received, and the president adopted measures to prevail on the Indians to hold a treaty the succeeding spring at Sandusky. A deputation of six members of the Society of Friends, accompanied the commissioners appointed by President Washington, and after encountering many difficulties, reached Fort Detroit, where they received a message from the Indians, that unless the Ohio river should be the boundary, they were unwilling to confer; and the commissioners, not being authorized to comply with their proposal, the treaty was frustrated, and the party returned without being able to effect the object of the mission. In

Notwithstanding the manifesto of the Earl of Halifax, the association pursued the even tenor of its way, and continued to employ every effort to achieve

1794, the Six Nations became discontented with the conditions imposed on them at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. In order to prevent an interruption of the tranquillity which had subsisted between them and the United States from the close of the revolutionary war, it was agreed to hold a treaty with them at Canandaque, and Colonel Pickering was chosen sole commissioner on behalf of the United States. The Indians, as on the previous occasion, sent a request that some of the people called Quakers might attend, and a deputation of four of their members was appointed for that purpose, who waited upon the president and informed him of the proceedings of the society, *which received his cordial approbation.* Provided with an address on behalf of their brethren, adapted to the occasion, and furnished with suitable presents for the Indians, the deputies proceeded to the treaty ground, where the negociation was begun and continued for forty-eight days. The result of this conference was highly satisfactory to all who were concerned in it. On the last day, when the council fire was about to be extinguished, the deputation made a farewell address to the Indians, to which *Farmers Brother*, a chief of great distinction, thus replied on behalf of his people.

"Brothers,

"We are very glad to see you. When we sent for you, "our desire was that you might sit by our sides, and afford "your assistance to make a good peace. Last year we invited "you to come to Sandusky; you willingly rose from your "seat and came forward; you know how things turned out; it "was not the will of the Great Spirit that a treaty should "take place at that time, yet we thank you because you so "willingly rose from your seat, and came forward so readily. "We have many times heard the voice of *Onas*, it was

its noble designs. The assembly were afterwards repeatedly supplied with money from its treasury, to prosecute negociations with the Indians, its funds were also applied under its own direction in furnishing the natives with subsistence and clothing, and some of their young people were instructed under its patronage in the arts of civilized life. Among other means of testifying its regard for the Indians, and that they should possess a memorial which might frequently remind them of the sincere and cordial dispositions of its members, the association had a medal struck with a device, representing an Indian and a European seated at a council fire, the latter pointing with the calumet, or pipe of peace toward the sun, near the zenith, the whole design being encircled with this beautiful sentiment, "*Let "us look to the Most High, who blessed our fa- "thers with peace.*" The execution of this medal, was the first attempt in that department of the fine arts in Pennsylvania. The dies, not highly finished, as may readily be supposed, were engraved by Ed-

"always good to us; we have now heard it again, and what "you have said is good. You have seen the writings by which "we are bound; you say you are not concerned in public af- "fairs, and that you think it will not be best for you to sign "them; brothers, you have made our minds easy, and we "have no hard thoughts concerning you, because you do not "put your names to the writings. Brothers, the Great Spirit "gave this island to us; the white people have greatly increas- "ed: there is no difference between the red people and the "white, they are all one, and ought to be brothers, and live "in peace one with another."

ward Duffield of Philadelphia, and cost fifteen pounds. At that time, the coining press being unknown in this country, the dies were cut on punches fixed in a socket, and the impressions made by the stroke of a sledge hammer.

The association existed for seven years, during which period, almost twenty thousand dollars were voluntarily contributed by its members, to defray the expenses incurred in the prosecution of its laudable views, a sum which even now would be considered liberal, but which, bestowed nearly three-fourths of a century ago, is entitled to be recorded, as a splendid benefaction.

On taking leave of the distinguished philanthropists, a brief notice of whose Christian labours has been thus submitted, a profound sense of gratitude for their example and faithful services, is kindled in my heart; an offering more ardent and pure, than any tribute that mere language can pay.

Others have abundantly shown, that the Founder and lawgiver of Pennsylvania, and his associates, our honoured forefathers, were practically wise, and eminently successful, in giving refuge and rest to the oppressed of all nations—it has been my humbler task to prove, that they were also toward their benefactors, generous and *just!*

COMMUNICATION

FROM

ROBERTS VAUX, ESQ.

ON THE SUBJECT OF

TWO MEDALS

STRUCK IN PHILADELPHIA,

IN 1757.

Read before the Society, February 5th, 1827.

KITTANNING DESTROYED BY COL.° ARMSTRONG.
SEPTEMBER 8.
1756.
OUR FATHERS WITH PEACE * LET US LOOK TO THE MOST HIGH WHO BLESSED
1757.

COMMUNICATION, &c.

To the Members of the Historical Society.

In the Discourse which was delivered on New Year's day, I gave some account of a medal which was engraved and issued at Philadelphia, in the year 1757, by "*The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures.*" By the kindness of John Richardson, of this city, whose grandfather, Joseph Richardson, was a silversmith, and struck the medals for the association, of which he was likewise a useful member, I am enabled to furnish the Society with a copy of the original instance in this department of the fine arts in Pennsylvania. From the same individual, I have also received an impression of another medal, executed here by order of the Corpo-

ration of this city, to commemorate the destruction of Kittanning by Colonel Armstrong, which bears date the 6th of September, 1756, the point of time when that event occurred, though the medal was not designed and published, until after that of the Friendly Association. These interesting specimens, will, I am sure, be carefully preserved in the cabinet of the Society, in such manner as will associate with them the name of the respectable donor.

I remain, &c.

ROBERTS VAUX.

Philadelphia, 2d month 5th, 1827.

A NARRATIVE

OF

AN EMBASSY

TO THE

WESTERN INDIANS,

FROM THE

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

OF

HENDRICK AUPAUMUT,

WITH

PREFATORY REMARKS

BY

DR. B. H. COATES.

Communicated to the Society, April 19th, 1826.

A NARRATIVE, &c.

The following narrative was found among the papers of a late eminent and philanthropic citizen of this community;* and, from evidence internal and external, appears to be an original and an autograph. It is no other than the history of an Indian negociation, as recorded by the negociator, himself an Indian:—circumstances which certainly give it a very peculiar complexion.

We know of no instance, as yet, in which the history of the wars and diplomacy of our native predecessors has ever been committed to print, as prepared by one of their own race and character. It reviewing the events of our frontiers, men desirous of preserving the impartiality of history, have often felt the want of some direct expression of the feelings and opinions of the sons of the forest themselves. An ancient fable has been realized—the lions have had no painters—no apologists have arisen to celebrate and exalt their great actions, or to narrate and exemplify those co-operating circumstances, which led to and partly justified their follies and their crimes. Members of a favoured race, which was destined by Providence to increase, while the house of their predecessors has

* Isaac Zane, Esq.

continued to "wax weaker and weaker," many individuals among the white Americans have felt a desire that justice should be done at least to the fame of the aborigines, and that those who have been deprived, for our sakes, of country and of existence, should not also experience that common lot of the unfortunate, the partial frown of history.

As the benevolent individual, from whose papers the manuscript before us was obtained, with the consent of the legal claimant, was long and frequently engaged in Indian affairs, this circumstance, as far as it goes, confirms the authenticity of the narrative.

The internal evidence of this character which the latter itself affords is very considerable. It is composed of half-sheets, originally somewhat rudely stitched together, written throughout in the same hand, and signed at the end with the name of the author. The "Message to the United States," which the writer describes himself, as having committed to paper, by direction and in the presence of an Indian council, is, as this circumstance would naturally lead us to expect, written in a separate pamphlet. The narrative is freely interlined with corrections in grammar and expression; not indeed sufficient to render it perfectly admissible as an English composition, but appearing to have been aimed at the more obvious faults. These are, in fact, precisely such as we might naturally anticipate, in the writings of one who had received an

English education at a good school, but who had been so long accustomed to an entirely different system of grammar, that he was not able to render himself quite familiar with the use of our idioms. Thus, particles are omitted, the singular and plural numbers confounded, &c. Other errors strongly characterize the German pronunciation as having affected that of the author's instructors in the language he writes. Among these are such as *propable* for probable, *considered* for considered it, &c.

As our pious and laborious countrymen of the Moravian persuasion were long the almost exclusive sources of education which the Indians possessed, it is not improbable that tbe author of the following sheets received his instruction from them. We may, in passing, observe that, from this circumstance, we are entitled to look, in his pages, for a spelling of aboriginal names consonant to the German idiom; a principle which seems consecrated by usage, and by the examples of the venerable Heckewelder and Zeisberger, in the expression of sounds derived from the language of the Delawares.

The author has omitted to mention the year in which his expedition took place; and this is the more remarkable, as his accuracy in noting the months and days seems to be invariable. It may, however, have been mentioned in the title page, which is lost. In the twenty-fourth page of General St. Clair's narrative of his unfortunate expedi-

tion, occur the following words, under date of August 4th, 1791:—

"Hendricks Apaumut gone to the Miamis from "Colonel Pickering. For the measures taken for his "safety, see my orders to the officers commanding "at the outposts, and a proclamation to the inha- "bitants."

The documents here referred to are not, however, to be found in General St. Clair's volume.

The period which intervened between the departure of the warriors from the council, according to Aupaumut, and the epocha of the battle, is twenty-three days. On the 12th of October, the writer saw the Shawanese and Wyandot warriors share the ammunition furnished them, (during a time of profound peace,) by the British agent, and depart for war. The date of the unfortunate catastrophe was November 4th.

On the 31st of August, according to the present narrative, the Big Knives are said to have been discovered near Fort Jefferson. Now it was not till the 18th of October, 1791, according to General St. Clair, (narrative, p. 18,) or the 12th, according to the secretary of war, p. 68, that Fort Jefferson was commenced. Again on the 8th of August, the author of the present paper represents himself as having proposed to the Delawares, through their chief, the Big Cat, that they should send to General Putnam, at Fort Jefferson, not mentioning the name of General St. Clair.

By the politeness of the Hon. Charles Miner, member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, and of Colonel M'Kenney, of the War Department, we have been favoured with copies of two papers, issued by that office in 1793, the one being a "Memorandum of instructions given to Captain Hendricks by Colonel Pickering;" the other, "Instructions to the runners" to the Indian council at the rapids of the Miami. To reconcile these different dates, (1791 and 1793,) we are unprepared, unless by the supposition that Hendrick proceeded twice to that country.

The perusal of the manuscript presents us with some further difficulties; which, however, are not of an insuperable character. For example, we are told of "the Seven Nations of Canada," while we neither gain from the present document, the information of whom so large a body consisted, nor can call to recollection from sources of general access, the existence, at any period, of such a confederacy. We are to presume that it was some combination made under the auspices of the British government of Canada. The "Big Knives," on the other hand, whom Heckewelder describes to be the Americans, are here spoken of as a body of people distinct from either the American whites, the Indians, or the English. From the passage where the United States government is introduced as stating that it could control the Big Knives with ease; from that in which Delawares are said to have served in war along with them; and from many others, this term,

in Indian use, seems to have included both the inhabitants of our frontier and the military. After all, it is probable that a part of our difficulty arises, from our ascribing to the Indians greater precision in language than either their dialect or their habits are calculated to produce.

As reference is made in the narrative to Colonel Pickering, it was conceived that the best way to ascertain and confirm the authenticity of the memoir and the authority of the writer, was to request that eminent citizen to communicate what he possessed and could disclose relative to these points. Application was accordingly made to him, by letter, and was followed by a polite reply, which we are permitted to insert, as follows:—

Salem, April 15, 1826.

DEAR SIR,

I received yesterday your letter of the 10th instant, with information of a manuscript purporting to have been written by Hendrick Aupaumut, being a narrative of his mission to the western tribes of Indians, who, in 1791, were carrying on a distressing war against the frontier settlements of the United States, in the north-western territory. Turning to General St. Clair's narrative of his unfortunate expedition, in 1791, against those tribes, I find the passage you quote, (page 24)—"Henry Aupaumut gone to the Miamis from Colonel Pickering." The next words are, "for the measures taken for his safety, see my orders to the officers

commanding at the outposts, and a proclamation to the inhabitants." These additional words clearly show that Hendrick Aupaumut's mission had been *officially* made known to General St. Clair, by documents presented to him by Hendrick, I suppose from the Secretary of War, General Knox; for I have no recollection of my being the medium of any instruction to Hendrick; but he certainly went on this mission. In May, 1791, I lived at Wyoming; but I saw Hendrick after his return, and I perfectly recollect his telling me, that his language and the languages of the Chippawas and others of the western tribes, were so similar, that he could converse with them.

Peace, you know, was not effected. St. Clair's action and defeat took place in November, 1791. They continued the war. In 1793, commissioners, (of whom I was one,) were appointed to negociate a peace—they refused to negociate. The next year, General Wayne gave them a signal defeat, at the Miami of the Lake, and then they made peace.

Now to the tribe and character of Hendrick Aupaumut. He was the chief of the remnant of the tribe by some called *Mohicans;* but in answer to my inquiries, thirty years ago, he pronounced the name as expressed, (to my ear,) by these English letters—Muh-he-con-uck; the letter h being affixed to the first syllable to indicate its guttural sound, and the last syllable being to my ear sounded uck, and not ne-u or ne-oo. His name may be seen subscribed to the treaties with the Six Nations, and with the

Oneidas, in 1794, in the second volume of the laws of the United States, edition of 1796. In the treaty with the Oneidas, he is called *of the Stockbridge Indians*. This remnant of the Muh-he-con-ucks had long dwelt in the township of Stockbridge, in Massachusetts, and until our revolutionary war terminated; after which they removed to the country of the Oneidas, who gave them a township of land, accompanied by their missionary, the Reverend Mr. Sargeant, whose decease was announced a few years since. I dined with Hendrick at his house in that township in 1794.

With Captain Hendrick, (so he was generally called,) I have had conversations, at different times. He was intelligent, and spoke the English language familiarly; and with so much correctness as to be easily and distinctly understood; and he wrote a legible hand. I think it probable that I have specimens of his writing, in some applications to me, but I do not know where, among a mass of papers, to look for them. He always manifested a steady attachment to the United States, and sustained a reputation entitling him to public confidence. From the opinion I have always entertained of him, I should rely on his statements of facts falling under his own observation, or as communicated to him by others. The last time I saw him was at the city of Washington, about the year 1808 or 1809. I met him accidentally when he and Nicholas Cusick, a Tuscarora, (whom I instantly recollected,) were on their way to North Carolina, to solicit from its go-

vernment some satisfaction for the land of the Tuscaroras, who had been driven, or migrated, from North Carolina, a century or more before, and to whom the *Five* Nations gave *a seat* in their territory. The body of the Tuscarora tribe resided, in 1793, about eight miles southward of Fort Niagara, the country of the Senekas. Nicholas Cusick lived with the Oneidas. He spoke English, and, I think had a commission of lieutenant in the war of our revolution.

I am obliged by your father's remembrance of me, and cordially reciprocate his kind wishes.

With great regard, I am, dear sir, your friend,

T. PICKERING.

If Hendrick's manuscript is correct in spelling and grammar, his draft must have been corrected, perhaps by Mr. Sargeant.

Doctor COATES.

This manuscript lends us a curious opportunity of looking behind the scenes, previously to the performance of a tragedy of the deepest interest, to which the attention of the nation was at that time urgently drawn. It discloses to us in vigorous relief, enhanced by the simplicity of the narrative, the original prepossession against the American government, strong, because uncontradicted and uncounteracted, the vivid recollection on the part of the majority of the Delawares, of their ancient friendship with this nation, the divisions in opinion

universal among the tribes, the ardour of the warriors prompting to combat, the prudence of the sachems urging peace, the malignant activity of the British agents, the bold treachery of individuals among the natives, the influence of accident and circumstance, and the mistrust of offers backed by military force. Our days of Indian warfare are, it is to be hoped, gone by; and the alternate conflagration of the cottage and the wigwam, the successive butchery of peaceful settlers, women and children, on the one hand, and of desperate warriors, overpowered by numbers and skill, on the other, are perhaps destined to fill our gazettes no more. Partly by the simple numerical increase of our population, and partly by an energetic system, anticipating the evil with prevention, and stretching the influence of the United States far beyond the range of their settlements, we are at length secured from the war of the rifle, the hatchet, and the knife. The only anxiety now felt by the people of these republics relative to the Indian race, refers to the welfare of the unfortunate red men themselves. Since this portentous change, a change which dates as recently as the wars of Generals Harrison and Jackson, has left us at liberty to legislate, *more Romano*, for the preservation of the crushed and dispirited vanquished, certainly those objects which the wise and good have in view in desiring their civilization, must be materially forwarded by the possession of such a document as this.

Undistorted by enmity or interest, it presents an

authentic view of the feelings which actuate these unfortunate men in situations so desperate, and yet of so frequent recurrence.

The narrative also affords us some light on Indian manners and history, which was perhaps particularly desirable at the present moment. To omit smaller matters, a vehement attack has recently been made in a popular review, on the venerable Heckewelder. This has been already replied to—(see Vol. I. p. 258, of these Memoirs.) But it may be with propriety observed here, that ample testimony is borne by the author of the memoir before us, to the respectful and honorary title of grandfather having been conferred, as recorded by the good missionary, on the nation of Delawares, by all the other tribes acquainted with them, except the Wyandots and the Six Nations, whom they called uncles. This testimony is the more important, as it is that, not of one of the Delawares themselves, but of a member of another tribe, acknowledging this superiority in them over himself and the citizens of his own community. It is worthy of remark, that this dignity is described by our narrator as having been conferred and recognized by solemn treaty, "about two hundred years ago;" and that in another place, he ascribes to the British and the then Five Nations, the formal commission to the Delawares, of the task of effecting a general peace, an office for which they found themselves inadequate. The reader will observe that this is expressly stated to have been done, because "this nation had the

"greatest influence with the southern, western, and "northern nations." We have thus an additional confirmation of the opinion, that this alleged superiority and peace-making character of the Delawares, instead of being, as it has been recently considered, the mere invention of a conquered people, designed to sooth and flatter their minds under a conscious sense of inferiority, and in the case of the *assumption of the petticoat,* "a disgraceful passing *sub jugo,*" is, in reality, matter of authentic history, well adapted to excite both our commiseration for the former inhabitants of our own soil, and our distinct disapprobation of the tendency perceptible among some of our countrymen to cast a slight on this once powerful, and comparatively virtuous, but unfortunate people.

The unhappy Delawares, dispossessed of their native seats, at first by sale, and subsequently by the artifices of the Six Nations, and by the intrusions and violence of the inhabitants of the frontier, and successively pushed before the advancing tide of settlement and war, seem always to have borne the brunt of the attacks of the whites. Forced by the advance of civilization to obtain land from their western neighbours, they still continued to form the Indian advanced guard; and if villages were burnt, or warriors slain, the greatest loss always fell upon the Lenape. This may amply account for their present diminished numbers and influence, without calling in question the veracity of the only authentic record we possess of their former history.

Captain Hendrick Aupaumut's Journal.

I have no doubt of the authenticity of this manuscript—that it was written by Hendrick himself. The handwriting appears to be the same with specimens I have formerly seen, that were written by him, and distinguished with similar incorrectnesses. In two places, in the fore part of his journal, he writes the name of his tribe, as I had learned to write it from him, Muh-he-con-nuk. And where it is written Muhheaconneeu, I presume it represents the name applied to his tribe by the western Indians.

T. PICKERING.

Philadelphia, August 24, 1827.

A SHORT NARRATION

OF

My last Journey to the Western Contry.

Having agreed with the great men of the United States, to take a tour, with their message of peace to the hostile nations—which enterprise some of the principal chiefs of the Five Nations did oppose—alledged that it would be folly for the United States to send me on that business—(says they,) the Western Nations will not regard the voice of One Nation—but the business ought to be negotiated by the Five Nations and the British. But on my part, I have hitherto had a persuasion on my mind, that if the Western Nations could be rightly informed of the desires of the United States, they would comply for peace, and that the informer should be an Indian to whom they look upon as a true friend, who has never deceived or injuried them.

When I come to reflect in the path of my ancestors, the friendship and connections they have had with these western tribes, and my own feellings towards them, I conclude that I could acquaint them my best knowledge with regard of the dispositions, desires, and might of the United States, without partiallity—and without groundless opinion I could be more useful in that particular embassage than those who have been opposing my undertaking, &c.

Before I proceed in the business I am upon, I think it would be necessary to give a short sketch what friendship and connections, our forefathers, and we, have had with the western tribes.

The Delawares, who we calld Wenaumeeu, are our Grandfathers according to the ancient covenant of their and our

ancestors, to which we adhere without any devition in these near 200 years past, to which nation the Five Nations and British, (after finding themselves incapaple of completeing a union of all who has one colar,) have commit the whole business. For this nation had the greatest influence with the southern, western, and northern nations.

The Shawannese, who we calld Weshauwonnoow, are our younger brothers according to ancient covenant between our forefathers—for our ancestors, near 200 years ago rescued them from the mouth of many nations, as well as of the Five Nations who were ready to swallow my younger brother Shawany, for which kind deliverance they ever have felt themselves under the greatest obligation to obey our voice—and many nations had knowledge of this.

The Miamies, who we calld Wemaumeew, are our grandchildren according to an ancient covenant between our forefathers, which friendship their and our fathers have maintained, and in every few years they renew this covenant, and have given to our forefathers a large tract of land, &c.

The Monthees, who we calld Wemintheew, and the Wenuhtokowuk and Kuhnauwautheew, are our brothers according to ancient agreement, to which we ever have stood stedfast.

The Wyondots, who we calld Paumtonnauweew, are our uncles.

The Ottawas, who we calld Wetuwwaw.—The Chepawas we calld Wechippawaw—Potawatommeew, Wethaukeew, Misquuhkeew, Wenautwuhtheew, Wawyuhtonnoow, Kekipoo and Pasakeah, are our grandchildren—these nations ever maintain good friendship with our nation—our nation had a great influence with these nations, &c.

It was the business of our fathers to go around the towns of these nations to renew the agreements between them.

and tell them many things which they discover among the white people in the east, &c.

Myself and my brother set out from Philadelphia, May 10th. We arrived Tiog Point on the 17th, at which time the people told us that the chiefs of the Seanacas, Onondagas, and Cayagas had just gone from that place. As I well knew the ways of these nations, and as General Chapin is newly appointed by congress to take the charge of the Five Nations, I concluded that they will stop at Canadaque several days, and that General Chapin will oblidge to wait upon them. Then I dispatch my brother to go cross the woods to Onieda to fetch my bag of peace, in which there is ancient wampom, and to get two of my best counsellors and a young men to meet me at Chapins, in order to have them with us, that the western nations may see that we are upon important business, and that in case we should meet some difficulties, five of us could help one another, and that if some cruel hostile Indians should fall upon us, and be too strong for us, so that we should fall, some of my spry young men could get away, and bring the tidings of the same to the United States. For these reasons, as well as other reasons, I desired to have my own company, and they did meet me at Canadaque, while General Chapin was busy with the Five Nations. After the Senacas left Canadaque, Brant arrived. I conversed with him several times. When he finds that I had a message from the United States to the western tribes, he tells me that it would be adviseable to let the British send this message to the western nations, for, says he, the Indians will hear quicker by the English, and that the British could get there sooner by water, but I gave him no answer. On the 4th of June then General Chapin had liberty, and on the 6th of June we set out, and arrived at Buffalo Creek on the 10th, and General Chapin arrived on the 12th of the inst.—by this time the Senacas have sent their runners to invite the Mo-

hawks and all the chiefs who resides at Grand River, to attend a general Council, that all may hear news from the United States, also to Allegany; and on the 13th we held a Council with them—we in the first place delivered complimentary speeches to each other.

I then deliver some information to the Senacas in the following words:—

Uncle, attend to a few words:—

I rejoice that by the goodness of the Great Spirit you are safely arrived at your fire place, and that this day we sit together to smoake our pipes in a friendly manner.

Uncle—

In three days after you left Philladelphia a mesenger arrived with a message of the Seven Nations of Canada, to let the United States know that they the Seven Nations were invited by the Western Tribes to attend a great Council on Miamie, and that they are about to rise and go accordingly, but for fear of one thing, lest the United States should think that these Seven Nations are gone to join the hostile nations in war—therefore they sent this information to the United States, and that their intention is to endeavour to bring the hostile Indians to peace—and that they are to meet the Five Nations at this place, Buffaloe Creek, from here they the Seven Nations, with you the Five Nations, are to set out to Miamie; that if the United States approve of this intention, then they shall go with good courage—then the great man of the United State reply and declared that they highly approve of that intention—and the messenger stayed only two days—then he returned with all speed—so much on this subject.

Uncle, attend—

The great men of the United States are sensible of this, that it will be many days before the Seven Nations with you the Five Nations could get ready to set out; and having such earnest desire of peace with the Western In-

dians, which the Indians should be informed as soon as possible, lest the war will grow hoter, so that no man could quench it, therefore they sent a message by me on the same subject, and I have come with the message thus far. Another reason for which they wished that this message should go with all speed, is this—that they have dispatched officers from Ohio, to go and give the same information to the Indians, and that the Indians should know that they the officers are coming that they may use them kindly; and that General Putnum is also appointed to go and meet the Indians at Fort Jefferson for peace; now lest the Indians should misunderstand the design of General Putnum—the United States wished that this message should go with all speed, that it may reach at the Council before the other messages arrives.

Uncle—

By this information, and by what you know yourselves, you can clearly see that this message is very urgent. This is all I got to say.

And in few minutes after—then Farmers brother speak and rehearse what I have told them, then he says—

Nephew—

I and all the rest of the chiefs and warriors rejoice that you are come and have set with us this day, and we all heartyly thank you for your kindness in giving us such information—and we will call for our brothers and neighbours —the Onondagas and Cayogas, to acquaint them this information—and will consult with them—and then you shall hear our voice.

On the 14th, they accordingly met in council. In the evening they come to conclusion how to send message by me, and then adjourn untill to-morrow morning.

Next day the 15th, they met again, (news having reached in their ears, how that their warriors have killed two of the western Delawares, which news change their notions.

were afraid that the western nations will fall upon them and cut them off, for this occasion they are willing to let us go before them.)

Then the Onondaga chief repeat the message which they wished to send by me. After this—the Farmers Brother speak to us.

Nephew—

To-morrow you must meet with us, for we wished to have our speech in writing, &c.

In the morning of 16th we met with them, then Farmers Brother delivered five strings of wampom—and desired me to write his speech and deliver it to the western Delawares.

The following words—

Nephews of Delawares on Miamie, attend the words of your uncles the Five Nations—

I am very sorry that some of my foolish young men have been led astray by the big knifes, consequently have killed two of their nephews.

Nephew—

Be assured, that we do not approve of this conduct, for we have no desire to take up hatchet against you, or any of our own color, but the fool when he is drinking strong liquor will go astray—I have calld all such to return home.

Nephew—

Let us remember that troubles will unavoidably meet us, and that different kinds—therefore Nephew, do not lay up in your heart what has happened, as tho I do this on purpose.

Nephew—

Be assured, that I will show you greater friendship, and I now wipe of your tears which runs down your cheeks—we all very sorry with you.

Five strings of wampom delivered.

Then Red Jacket speak with other strings of wampom, and said—

Nephew, attend—

I now sent these words—compose your minds in peace—in a few days you will see your uncles the Five Nations—then we shall settle all the difficulties subsisting between us, and will inform you of every thing what I have heard, and what lays on my mind; and you will see my friendship toward you, and to all our friends. We are waiting for the Seven Nations of Canada—we expect them daily, as soon as they arrivees we will held a little council, then we go to your place.

Strings of wampom delivered.

Then I reply, and say—

Uncle—

I am happy to find that you are so engaged for the wellfare of your nephews, as well as your own nations; and you may rest assured that I will go on with your message as well as the other messages—and will do all I can for you, so that when you arrive your nephews may be pacified, &c.

Then we disperse—we went to our quarters. The next day 17th, we set out to go to the mouth of Buffaloe Creek, about six miles from the castle, General Chapen is to meet us there. When we arrived at that place, we, General Chapen with his interpreter, Mr. Parrish, and all the principal chiefs of Sanacas, who came thus far to bid us farewell, And they then ask to set with them for few minutes. Then I ordered my companions to set together—then the Red Jacket begin to speak to us—on the following words:—

Nephew—

We come to bid you farewell, I hope that you will exert yourself, and your young men to go on with great courage and resolution—and our hearts are with you—we wish your undertaking will be crowned with great success—we must look to the Great Spirit—he can help us—and if he helps us all things will com right.

Nephew—

In a few days we hope to see you, and I hope that you will inform your friends, the western nations, all the knowledge you have of our desires for peace—and we desire you to use your utmost endeavours for us among the western Indians. I hope that Spirit will protect you. Then they came and shake hands with us around—and set down again.

Then I reply, and say—

Uncles—

I am happy to find that you are so friendly as to come thus far to give us your complements, I rejoice to find that our minds and desires are one.

Uncles—

I heartily thank you for the exhortation you gave us, we will endeavour to keep the same in our hearts—we will endeavour to put our whole trust in the Great Spirit who overrules all. I hope when we live to see each other again that we will rejoice together. This all I got to say.

Then General Chapin speak to us, and said—

Brothers—

I would just speak one word, I am glad that Great Spirit so ordered that you are so united, and that you are about to set out for a long and tedious journey, for an important business, and I hope that the Great Spirit will protect you and bless you abundantly, that your means will cause many to rejoice—and I hope that I may live to see you again and rejoice with you.

In the 18th we set out from the mouth of Buffalo Creek, to go north side the Lake Erie, and in the evening of the 19th we arrive at the inlet of Grand River; next morning the 20th the N. west high wind arose, and find that we could not with safety go on, and oblidge to wait. But I thought that it would be adviseable to send for Captain Aaron who resides up this river, and get him to go with

us as a pilot; then I dispatched my runners, with three strings of wampom, on the following words:—

Cousin, attend—

Do remember our friendship, and what conversation we have had several times last fall, and what we have concluded last spring.

Cousin—

Consequently, I now reach your hand, and lead you on the path that leads from Delaware Village, which comes in this lake about thirty-six miles from here, there you will meet us. You must not stay to look others first, but as fast as you can swing your pack, then take steps to meet us.

In the 21st of the inst. the wind cease, then we set out again, and in the 22d we arrived at the place appointed, and in the 23d, my runners arrived with my cousen, Captain Aaron, and one of the Monthees chief, who wished to hear some news. Then I told him some news, and after that, I then deliverd an answer to their speech, with regard of the invitation they gave us last spring. I begin in those words.

My friends, attend—

We have considered your speech to us last spring. We rejoice to find that you have such concern for us as a nation —that you have reached our hand, and lead us to a place where you thought we may set down.

My friends—

I find that our eyes are not fully open—we could not see things clear, for the reason of high winds and dark clouds —therefore I could not gave you a positive answer.

Friends—

Compose your minds in peace and exercise patience. By and by we shall see things clear. When the wind cease and clouds are removed, and the earth lay in silence, then we shall be able to contemplate this subject better; then I shall gave you a positive answer.

My friends, brothers, and cousin—

We heartily thank you for your great concern for us. This is all I have to say.

Six strings of wampom delivered.

On the 24th, we set out, but the wind soon arose again, and we were obliged to stop. And in the 25th we set out again. After rowing about half a day, the wind begin to blow, so we went on—sometimes we were oblidged to stop two days—untill the 2d of July we got a little more than half way.

This Captain Aaron has been with Brant on the Miamie, several times; and has been there this spring for Brant. Brant before he went to Philladelphia, he sent a message to the western Indians, by this Aaron and three other Indians—one of them is Brant's nephew, named Tawalooth. Part of the message was to ask the western nations whether they would approve of Brant's going among the big knifes; and three days after they left Grand River, this Tawalooth begin to say that he is the head of that company, and that he will deliver the messages of his uncle, to the western Indians. The others say nothing; and as they pass by, in every village he told that the whole of the Six Nations are about geting ready to go and assist the western nations in war—that every man, and even boys who could lift a gun, and old men who could walk, will go—also all the warriors of the Seven Nations. This Tawalooth having brought such news in the ears of these nations, they expected nothing else but war, and were greatly encourged —see what hurt this message, or this Tawalooth has done.

And in the 3d of July we were oblidge to leave our nice, white birch bark canoe on Bull-head Creek, and went by land and arrived at Delaware Castle in the evening. This village stands on the banks of river Trench. Monthees and some Chipawas live here, who were happy to see us, and told us all the news. Among other things they inform us

that forty of their warriors went to assist the hostile Indians. These Indians of this village have not been engaged in war, they moved on this place to shun the troubles of war, but by the news of Tawalooth, and by what message the Shawanese have sent, they went. And in the 4th of the inst. I bought another bark canoe and some provision. Then we set out and went down this river, and in the evening of the 5th inst. we arrive at the town of Christian Indians, commonly called Morravian Town. These Indians were very glad to see us, and told us many things respecting the western tribes, &c. And in the 6th we set out again—and in the 7th we arrive at Lake St. Clair—and in the 9th we arrive at Detroit. Here we see several Indians from Miamie, and they were very glad to see us, and told us good a deal of news; and here we see three of the Cayogas, who have been living among the hostile nations. The Shawannese now sent these three to hasten the Five Nations—here they were waiting for vessel. Then we set out again, and in the evening of the 13th we arrived at the grand council fire, called the Rapids, about eighteen miles from the mouth of this Miamie river. Here two towns stands—one of which are Delawares—here Captain Pipe resides—and the other is Monthees. We have passed by several small villages along the lake. As soon as the Monthees discovered us, they sent runners to lead us into one of their council houses, to stay over the night, and were happy to see us, and they did dance for us.

And early in the morning of the 14th, one old man came to us who used to live to the eastward. And he lead us to his camp among the camps of Shawanese—who just arrived yesterday in order to get some provisions; for there was a sore famine in their towns. And this day all nations who resides along this river are expected. Here stands Colonel M'Kee's house, and stores for the Indians. But he was not at home—was gone to Canada—but Captain Elliot takes

the charge of these provisions. And here we see three other of the British. Here we find one of the chiefs of Muhheaconnuk, named Pohquonnoppeet, who has been with these nations ever since he was a boy. He is well acquainted with all these nations, in their customs and dispositions—who has long to see us—who has been strenthen our messages these several years. And in the afternoon, part of the chiefs of Delaware, (who lives about sixty miles up this river,) sent word to us that they will meet us by and by.

Accordingly they came in our camp. Then the Sachem named Tautpuhqtheet begin to speak to us, on the following words.

My grandchildren, attend—

Here we meet together—the Great Good Spirit has thought and have fixed this day that we should meet together.

Grandchildren—

You have come from great way off to see and visit us—you have seen many dismal objects for which your tears droping down. Our good ancestors did hand down to us a rule or path where we may walk. According to that rule I now wipe off your tears from your eyes and face that you may see clear. And since there has been so much wind on the way that the dust and every evil things did fill your ears, I now put my hand and take away the dust from your ears, that you may hear plain—and also the heavy burden on your mind I now remove, that you may feel easy, and that you may contemplate some objects without burden.

Grandchildren—

Here you find your poor grandfather which has met with many difficulties—yet I am rejoiced to see you. You have waded thro many miry places and briers on your journey. I now wash your legs and wipe them clean, and I pull all briers which stick on your legs and feet—and then I take the nicest weesqui, which contains the pure oil, and put the same on your legs and feet that you may feel easy.

This all I have to say—four white strings of wampom 3 feet long deliverd.

Then they arose and shake our hands, to confirm their friendship to us.

Few minutes after this—

Then I rehearse his speech and then deliver a congratulatory speech as answer, to manifest my friendship to them as they did to us, on the following words.

Grandfather, attend—

I am happy to reflect how that the Great Good Spirit has so ordered that our forefathers have found the way to maintain such friendship between them—and that we met each this day, and that on your part you have manifested your kindness to us.

Grandfather—

Here we meet together in a dismal state, and you have put a great comfort on my mind, for which I heartily thank you.

Grandfather—

As I come to you, when I beheld your face, I saw your tears flowing down, for the reason of much difficulties and crosses. I now put my hand on your face and wipe off your tears, so that you may see things clear, and that to a great distance.

Grandfather—

Since there is so much wind, and much dust flying about, your ears are stop'd, you are almost deaf. But I now stretch my hand and take away all the dust from your ears, that you may now hear. And I also put my hand and clean your throat, and take away all heavy burdens which hangs on your mind, and cast it away, that you may now understand what is good for your children, and that you may have comfort.

Grandfather—

When I beheld your garments, I saw blood by reason of

war, which I now wipe away. Also your beds, I clean them that you may set with ease.

Six white strings of wampom delivered.

After this, the sachem heartily thanked us. Then, says he, I should be glad to hear some news from the east. And then I informd him that my nation live in peace—and that the great men of the United States wished to live in peace with all Indians—and that there is some wars among the great people over the great waters—and that negroes also have cut off many of their masters—which the Indians glad to hear—and I tell them that I would inform them further as soon as they can all meet together. Then they desire Pohquonnoppeet to acquaint us every thing.

The Shawannese sent word to us to let us know that they will set with us as soon as they get ready.

I then begin to consult with some of the principal chiefs and with Pohquonnoppeet, with regard of the message of the United States. Before this, there was not one man to be found that would speak in favour of the United States. But after I conversed with them, then they began to speak well—and finally they thought it would not do for me to deliver this message to Shawannese, who will make confusion; but, says they, delivered to other chiefs first—let them take hold of it first—then the Shawanese may see it and many other things they mention.

And on the 16th of July then they all met together in a Council. Then they call us in, and we went, and there we saw Captain Eliot and the other British set with the Indians.

Then the Chief of Shawanese begin—he first demand the attention of all who are present. Then he said—

Elder brother, Muhheuconneew—

We now speak in one voice to you—we all rejoice that you have come to us—you have taken great pains to come on the long and tedious journey. Our ancestors have long ago

fixed our friendship which we ever maintain—and it is so ordered by the Great Good Spirit that we this day see each other after a great length of time, and that we now set together.

Elder brother—

For many sad objects you are grieved, and your tears running down so that you could hardly see—and we now wipe away your tears that you may look about and see things plain.

Elder Brother—

By the reason of high winds and storms your ears are stop'd—that is to say, woow choow khun mautehk—which we now take out—which the wind shall drive away, that you may hear plain every thing that may reach your ears.

Elder brother—

For the reason of many sorrowful objects as well as tidings, you are grieved—in your heart full of sorrow. And as our good forefathers have handed us down a path to walk in, we now take all the burden from your mind, and clean your whole body, and set your heart, as it was fixed by the Good Spirit, that you may have comfort, and have a good understanding.

Elder brother—

Here you find us, your poor friends, in a dismal state—we just rejoice to see each other. This is all we have to say.

Two white and four purple strings of wampom delivered.

After this I then rehearse their speech and heartily thank them for it.

Then I deliver the following speech to them.

You, the Shawannese, my younger brother, you likewise grandfathers, and all who are here presend attend—

I rejoice that by the goodness of the Good Spirit we now meet this day, where we may put each other in mind

of our ancient friendship—which on your part you have already done, which gladens my heart.

My younger brother, and all who are here presend—

I, the Muhheuconneew, after viewing your situation, have found you in a gloomy state, now for the reason of many misfortunes and dark clouds I see your tears flowing down, so that you could see but duskily. But according to our friendship, I now wipe away your tears, and open your eyes that you may see clear and discern what is good.

Younger brother and all friends—

For the reason of high winds the dust has filled your ears, for which you could not hear. I now clean your ears also, that you may hear plain when you attend to the wellfare of your children.

Younger brother and all friends—

For the reason of your dismal views, in your heart there is sorrow, and of all sort evil things, so that you could not understand things right—but I now take hold of all these evil and heavy things and cast them away, which the strong wind will drive away, and clean all inside. I set your heart aright, as it was fixed by our good forefathers in ancient days, that you may now understand both what is good and bad—and that you may contemplate the wellfare of our own colar—that our mornings may be lengthened.

Younger brother and all friends—

When I beheld you, I saw blood on your garments on account of war—by the means of some bad white people like these who are present with us; (I point at Captain Elliot and his company,) but I now take away all this, and wipe your garments clean, and also your beds that you may set down with ease. This is all.

Six strings of wampom delivered—three strings pure white, and other three mixed.

I then informed them that I have brought three mes-

sages for them from the Five Nations—one of which is writen speech, which Onondaga chief sent by us, inclosed in a letter to Captain Elliot, from Colonel Butler, who wrote the speech from this chief, and desired Elliot to have it interpreted to the Indians, which I then deliver to Elliot, and then I deliverd the other two myself according the desire of the Senacas. And after I got thro', then these nations thank us, and arise to shake our hands as a confirmation of our ancient friendship.

After this. Then according the advise of our friends and the way I judge to be best, we proceeded in the first place we disperse, then we met again. I then faithfully deliver the message of the United States. In the first place I begin with an introductory speech, on the follow words.

My friends—

In order to have you to understand our business, I will acquaint you some things of our situation, lest you may have wrong apprhension. Since the British and Amaricans lay down their hatchets, then my nation was forgotten. We never have had invitation to set in Council with the white people—not as the Five Nations and you are greatly regarded by the white people—but last winter was the first time I had invitation from the great man of the United States to attend Council in Philladelphia. According to that invitation I went—and after we arrived at Philadelphia, I find that the business was for the wellfare of all nations—and then I was asked whether I would carry a message of peace to you here. I then reply that I would—for I know that it would look unfriendly to you, had I refuse to bring good tidings, and so for the sake of our good friendship, and for peace, I was willing to take this long journey, &c.

Then I begin with the message, and take up the seven strings of wampom, on the following words.

Sachems and head warriors of Delawares, and the whole of the confederate nations.

Brothers attend—

We the 15 sachems of the United States will now in one voice speak to you—we speak from our hearts—where there is a burden of sorrow.

It is very uncertain thing how our voice of peace may reach your ears.—It has been feared that our word of peace has not reached your ears, but has fallen and been burried under ground, or gone into the air by means of malignant birds.

Brothers—

We the 15 sachems, do now send our message of peace, by your own colar, and friend of Muhheaconnuk who we trust will faithfully delivered to you, and will impartially acquaint you, according to his best knowledge with regard to the dispositions of the United States—

Brothers—

You the sachems of the whole confederacy will not regard the voice of flying birds—be it known to you, that we, the 15 sachems, have never believed such, although we have seen and heard various kinds, which have had different heads—

And further you the sachems of the confederacy have never consulted together and agreed with an intend of speaking to some other nation deceitfully—Brothers, be assured that the 15 United Sachems have never done such, for we scorn to speak from the lips only.

Seven strings of white and purple wampam delivered, near 4 feet long.

Then I take up the belt and begin with these words—

Brothers of the whole Confederacy—

We have informed you that we speak from our hearts and in sorrow—because there are difficulties subsisting between you and the Big Knifes—

Brothers—

Be it known to you all, that we the 15 Sachems have no

desire to quarrel with you—but on the contrary we sincerely wish to have lasting peace established.

Brothers—

We have tender effections for our Children, women, young men and old parents. We wish to promote their happiness. You likewise brothers, have great regard for your children, women, young men, and old parents. You wish them many good mornings and evenings—in this we are alike.

Brothers—

We, the united sachems, now stretch our hand to reach your hand, and lead you at the first place, Fort Jefferson, where you will meet one of our great man, that you there may agree where you will chose to have a treaty on Ohio—where we may use our utmost endeavours to establish happiness for our Children.

Brothers—

As we have not believed the various reports of many birds, we still look to you—when you speak to us we will attend. If the Big Knifes have done any injuries to you, you must manifest it to us. Or if our servants have wrongd you in any matter, or have defraud you with regard to your Lands, you must inform us the same. Then we shall endeavour to remove these burdens from your minds that you may rejoice.

Brothers—

Had we not used means to remove all difficulties so as to put an end to the war, the great Nations over the great waters would find fault with us. You likewise, brothers, if you do not regard or comply with what we now offer to you, the great Nations, who resides behind you, will afterwards blame you.

Brothers—

As soon as you comply with terms of peace, the forts which stands on your Lands shall fall—and if you are di-

sirous for peace, you must instandly call in all your war parties. With respect to the Big knifes, they are not to be compared to our least fingure. We will hold them fast, and they shall not stir untill we let them lose.

Brothers—

We have now speaken so much to you—we will stop—and listen—when after all patience, we could not hear a word from you—Then we thought or conclude the reports of many birds are certainly true.

A large belt of wampom delivered, which contains 15 rows, and in the middle there is 15 square marks, which denote 15 United sachems, and path of peace goes thro the marks—the belt is purely white, except the marks and the path—near 4 feet long.

Then I say—Grandfathers and all friends—

I have deliverd you a great Message in your hands, and you must exert yourselves, and consider it seriously—and do remember our children, women, young men, and old people, and take the wisest part; and as I am here with you, I will endeavour to assist you as far as I can.

Then Hobakon, or Pipe-Sachem of Delawares, speak to us, and said—

Grandchildren—

You have brought to us a great good Message from the great people, for which we heartily thank you—and you may rest assured that we will exert ourselves to promote peace, and to-morrow you shall hear us again—we will consult among ourselves to-day and to-morrow, &c. (These nations could not get together so as to have a grand Council as it was proposed last winter, on account of the scarcity of provisions—many were oblidged to be gone in the woods to stay the whole of the summer; and the back nations, to wit, Wyondots, Ottawas, Chepawas, Potawatommees do reside north from here, and that a great distance. And the Wethaukeew, Misquohkeew, Wenautwuhtheew, Pasakeah,

Kekipoo, and Wawyuhtonnoo, resides N-west from here Miamie.

These what I call back nations, or nations resides behind.)

And on the 17th, they held a Council the whole day, and early in the morning of the 18th. Then the Sachem Pipe came to us in order to acquaint us what was pastd yesterday, on the following words:—

Grandchildren—

We the principal Sachems and Heroes, have consulted all day yesterday, and I was ordered to inform you our conclusions.

Grandchildren—

We are all happy to hear the good Message you brought to us. We have taken hold of it, and encourage one another to promotit. For we never receive such pure good Message from the Big knifes.

Our head Heroe, named Puckonchehluh, delivered speech to the Sachems and Chiefs, on the following words:—

My Sachems—

I now exhort you, and desire you to do your best—you have wisdom, and you have understanding to manage all our affairs, especially the welfare of our Children. This Message is for our good, it is pure message, for which you must exert yourselves, and do that which may be for the best; that our Children, women, young men may be benefited. For this Message is the Life of all our Nations, for which I will submit to whatever you agreed, &c. After this the Sachems concluded to send and deliver this good Message to the Sachems of Wyondots first, then they will call in the greater Nations, for they are head of three nations, (viz.) Ottawas, Chepawas, and Potawatommees. For we know that these nations will receive and accept this Message Joyfully. Then we shall stand strong and sure; after this we will meet at the Glaze or Forks. There we shall meet in

a great council. Then every Nation will declare that they have received such Message and accepted of it, and then offer the same to Shawannese, who will then be oblidged to submit; if not, then every nation must teach them, and chastise them; if that will not do, then they will be abandoned.

Grandchildren—

These are our conclusions. Compose your minds in peace. In a few days we will hear from these back nations. I think we will have clear days by and by, if the Big knifes do not interfere.

(This all.)

In the 24th of the inst. we set out with the Indians to go up at the Forks, or Naukhuwwhnauk, where the Shawannese, Delawares, and part of the Miamies had towns; we went up by water. In the envening of the 26, we heard alarming voie a great way, and soon heared little ways; although it was exceeding dark, yet in a few minutes we hear a horse runing, and reached to us in our Camp; then we soon find that he is a Shawaney after he breath little; then we ask him the news, then told us the Big Knifes arrived at Kekiog; then he set out again. Then I tell the company this news I think is false, &c.

On the 27th we arrived at the first Village of Shawannese. The Sachem of this place acquainted us a good deal of news among other things he told us that three of Kuttoohwauw Nation or Cherekes arrived at the Forks yesterday, and have brought some writings which they took on their way.

The next day we arrived at the Forks. At this place the other two villages of Shawanny stands; also one of the towns of Delawares, and the town of Wenuhtukowuk, and some out cast Cherekes, and part of the Miamies, and about 8 miles from this place the town of Big Cat stands—this town is last that stands on this river.

The Kuhnauwautheew also resides here; at which place,

Pohquonnoppeet and his friends live at, at which place we were to stay, but we been oblidged to stop at the Forks, (commonly called by British, Glaze,) because one of my Counsellors was taken sick.

Having bought some corn from the French traders at the rapids, which we brought up by water—we lived here by ourselves. Our friends here having nothing to give us to eat, and we were oblidged to give them; here I had a large family; at this place we find several traders of French people, and few English. These traders had some bread to sell, and I was oblidged to give 4*s*. for a 2lb. loaf, and 8*s*. per one quart of salt, and that several times; and among these Nations, some had corn to spare at the rate of 2*s*. per quart.

Here, according to my wish, did converse with the Indians almost every day. My friends advise me not to say much to the Shawanese untill all the Nations had agreed.

On the 29th, I met one of the English traders; he askd me whether I was the man that brought the Message of the U. S. I tell him yes. He then says, I wish the Indians could live in peace; this unhappy war ruins them, and almost undone us the traders also; the Indians could not hunt much, and if the army come again then we shall be undone.

In the 30th, the sachems of Delawares invited us to attend a council with them; at the same time informd us that two of the Cherekes brought Alarming Voice yesterday that the Big knifes are discovered near fort Jefferson.

The first of August. To day, 16 Warriors are sent to see whether the terrible Voice yesterday is true, &c.

At this time I went up to Big Cat's town with my brother; arrived there in the evening, went in the house of Pohquonnoppeet, the sachem—the Delawares having left word that we should give them notice of my coming. Early in the morning of the 2d inst. my Uncle sent a runner to in-

form the Chiefs that we were arrived, and will meet them in Council. My business was to comfort Big Cat for the death of his Brother who died last Spring; he was the Chief Sachem of the Delawares; also Pukonchehluh for the death of his Son. According to ancient custom in such cases, lolig as they are not comforted, they are not to speak in public, and this ceremonie of comforting each other is highly esteemed among these Nations.

Then we met them in council after drawing the smoak thro our nostrils. Then I got up and begin on the following words:—

Grand father, attend—

It is by the goodness of the Great Good Spirit we are meet together—so many of us the remnant of our ancesstors, to smoak our pipes and to put each other in mind of our ancient friendship. We are in a dismal State; we can only pity each other, at the same time we can rejoice to see each other. I have met with some difficulties on the way; one of my Counsellors is taken sick, who I left at the forks with the other two of my companions.

I am not waiting the motions of other nations in doing the business, which I will perform this time.

Grandfather—

We the poor remnant of our ancestors are met together. Our good fathers have left good customs, and path to go by, so that in all occasions we are to put each other in remembrance of the ancient Customs of our fathers as well as the friendship.

Grandfather—

Here you have meet with many troubles; in this we are all alike.

Grandfather—

You have meet great losses; your great Sachem is fallen, and also some of your principal young men. The sound

of which stopd your eyes and ears; your tears flowing down, and that continually; and for which reason you could not look up.

Grandfather—

Having seen you in such a situation, I without delay arise and come, and now put my hand to your face and wipe off your tears and open your Eyes, so that you may now see the sun when it rises, also when it sets down, and also other things, and that you could see your Grandchildren in a clear light; also I clean your Ears that you may hear distinctly. And I clean your throat also, and loosen your Tongue, that you may now speak, and that freely. And there is such a weight of sorrow causes your heart to hang up side down, but I now remove these burdens, and set your heart aright, that you may contemplate the welfare of your Children, and that with pleasure.

Six strings of white wampom delivered.

Grandfather—

Many troubles has attended us. You have lost your great Sachem; also some honourable young men, who have fallen, and lay under the earth ever since last Spring. I now remember what our good ancestors used to teach us their Children. And I now gather the bones of these deceased, and put them together, and take up the lasting Plank and put it over the grave, that the heat of the Sun may not penetrated and that the rain may not flow into them. (Nunneh *this is all.)*

A belt deliverd, contains ten rows, has three marks across, near three feet long.

This nation had delivered speach to my nation twice before—as a query whether my nation would accept the plan of Union. At this time I deliverd an answer.

Grandfather, once more attend—

As you have always paid great regard to our friendship—

You have spoken to me with regard of Union, whether I would take hold of it—with respect to this, my Grandfather, I now speak to you.

It is a happy thing that we should maintain a Union. But to us it is not a new thing. For our good Ancestors, (who used to have compassion to each other,) many, many years ago, have agreed to this. And we, who are of their desendance, should not hisitate, or, as it were, ask one another whether we should like it. But we must always remind each other how our ancestors did agree on this Subject, that we may never forgo that.

Six strings of white wampom Delivered.

After this, the Head Heroe, whose name is Puckonchehluh, got up with the strings and belt, and said, how happy a thing it is that we have met together. I and all of us feel rejoiced in our minds to hear you, my Grandchildren.

You have reminded your poor Grandfather many good things, which our good ancestors used to esteem, and you have gavin us great Comfort for these things. Your Grandfathers, the Chiefs, Young men, women, and Children, now heartily thank you.

Then he take up the last Six strings, and said, I am glad, Grandchild, that the great Good Spirit allow us to hear your voice this day. It is very true and we must acknowledge it that our friendship has been long ago fixed sure, by our good forefathers, who used to pity each other in their calamities, and that we ought to renew this friendship always. For this also we all heartily thank you. Wautokheethmellon, &c. grandchild.

After this he then wipe away the sweat from our face, &c.

Six strings of white wampom delivered.

At this time I felt unwell, but made out get thro this business.

Next day, the 3d inst. we went back again to the Forks

—next day I grow worse. On the 7th, one old warior of Delaware came from Detroit, and told us that the Wyondots and Ottawas, are about to arise to come up, on account of a false Alarming Voice, which Shawannese brought to them some time go. And further he told us that five men of Potawatommees, came to let the Shawanny know that the back nations are raising one thousand warriors, in order to assist the Sawannese to fall upon the forts, (which was a false story.)

Another bad story he told—that sometime ago the N. west Nations collected, according to an invitation of the Big knifes, on Wabash river. These nations were desirous to get their friends clear—which the Big knifes kept as prisoners—but before the Big knifes could meet these nations, one devillish Frenchman privately called all the Head Warriors, and advised them to go home every one; for, say he, the Big knifes are coming and will kill every one of you. It is better for you to lose your friends, who are kept as Captives among the Big knifes, than that you should all be killed. I told you this, because I love you, my Children.

Strings of wampom delivered.

By this account, all these nations dispersed immediately.

On the 8th, Big Cat come to our quarters. He then conversed with us. Among other things I proposed this—that it is necessary for the Nations to send information to Fort Jefferson, to acquaint General Putnum that the nations have, sometime ago, received the Message of the U. S.—that the Message is gone to the back Nations, who are expected to be here in a few days—that General Putnum may lengthen his patience. He then said it is a very good thing —I have this mind. And he informed me that the Chepawas have sent one of their runners, who arrived last evening, to acquaint the Chiefs that they, the Chepawas and their alies, have recived the good Message of the U. S.

And, says the Chepawas, we take hold of it on our right hands—and the Message of Shawanese, we hold it in our left hand—and we will go to the Forks—and then we shall show the same to Shawanees and will ask them, which of these two Messages is best—then we will throw their Message to their face—then we will take hold of the Message of the U. S. with both hands, &c.

And he informd me many other things, respecting the different Nations and the conduct of the British these many years. Among other things, he told me how the British inquire of our Business. Says he, two days after you deliver the Message to us, Captain Eliot called us to meet him at his quarters. And, after we got there, he then ask me where these Indians come from, and what is their business, (he meant you, my Grandchildren.)

Then I replied, how came you to ask us such questions? Did you ever see me at Detroit or Niagara, in your councils, and there to ask you where such and such white man come from? or what is their Business? Can you watch, and look all around the earth to see who come to us? or is what their Business? Do you not know that we are upon our own Business? and that we have longed to see these our friends, who now come to us, and for which we rejoice?

Then, says he, Eliots mouth was stopd immediately. Then the other chiefs laugh at him to scorn, and tell him, you have a proper answer, &c.

After this we agreed to send information to Fort Jefferson, and that we will meet at Big Cat's Town. And, on the 11th, then I sent Captain David Neshoonhuk, my counsellor, and John Wautuhqnaut, one of my young men, to see whether the Big Cat is ready to send runners to Fort Jefferson. The next day they got back again, and told me the Delawares are nearly ready, but waiting for their spies —as soon as they return then they will send.

On the 14th of the inst. an Alarming Voice reached us that the Big knifes had come down, about one days walk, this side the fort, and have killed three of the Delawares.

I was now obliged to use my utmost endeavours to convince the Chiefs respecting the morderation of the United States. Thier chief arguments, and mine, I shall mention afterwards. I had many oppurtunities to have talks with many of these people.

In the 18th inst. the Shawanese, Miamies, out cast Cherokees, Delawares, held great frolick, according to the old Custom of Shawannese. In the 22 inst. then the frolic is ended. Captain Pipe having brought a written Message of the United States, which was brought to him at the rapids, and delivered to Puckonchehluh the great heroe, for which they met together in a council. And Puckonchehluh delivered the same to the Head Warriors of Shawannese, and said I deliver this Message to you for you to consider. The Big knifes wished to know by whose means this war began; and I wished to hear your voice. If you will not speak, then I will. Then the Shawannese began to talk among themselves—at last they exposd their father, the British, in the following words.

A few years ago the English, in a Council, delivered the following speech to us. My children, attend. I have seen that the Big knifes have taken all your living, all your lands, and that for nothing.

Children—

I now advise you to look out sharp, and do this—go upon your lands, and if you see horses or cattle, catch them and bring them to me, and I will buy them of you, and pay in money, goods or in rum, that you may have some benefit of your lands, and further, you may cut a piece of the flesh of the Big knifes, or take prisiners and bring them to me, &c. the speaker says, I could show the wam-

pom of this speech—then says he, this speech induced me to do what I have done these several years past—After this, then they disperse.

In these days some these nations seemed much stupified by reason of a thousand stories. By this time the hostile party begin to lift up their heads, &c.

The Delawares hold Councils—the Heroes met by themselves—and the Sachems by themselves, in order to bring their opinions together; the Business under their consideration, is—the Message which Captain Pipe has brought and delivered to them. At last I ask some of the Chiefs whether they understand what the Message contains, they say no, then I ask where is the Message, they told me it is in the hands of Shawannese, then they begin to find fault in leting the Shawannese take the message; and one of the Sachems said I will fetch the Message to-morrow morning—then our Grandchildren will read the same for us. The next day, the 26 of the inst. he went to fetch the Message, but come back again without it, for the Shawannese had sent the same to Wapomshawuh or M'Kee, at the rapids, two days ago, but it will be brought back in two days time.

This Colonel M'Kee is half Shawanny, and the other British, exceeding good instrument for the British, &c.

On the 28th inst. Wūnummon or Vermillion, a Heroe, come to us, and told us that the Head warriors again held a council yesterday; that they speak of many things, and that they are sensible of this—that they could not maintain a war with the United States, and further say they, we ourselves have been in war—and we have a right to comply for peace—and here is our friends—we will let them know our determinations, and they can help us to make peace, for they are well acquainted with the ways of white people—and many other things they mentioned, &c.

On th 29th, to-day I sent Captain David with a runner

to see Big Cat, and to hear what they will do with regard of sending runners with information to Fort Jefferson, &c. The sixty warriors of Wyondots arrived yesterday.

At this time the Sachem, Tautpuhqtheet, come to our quarters, and informd me that Simon Girty arrived yesterday from the rapids—that Colonel M'Kee has sent word that these nations may go down to get provisions; and he sent word that I should go down and see him. But I said, as I have not seen any token or Message in strings of wampom, or writing, nor Tobaco, I will not go—I am not to regard emty messages, &c.

I heard that the Seven Nations of Canada arrived at the rapids; but the Five Nations are not arrived yet, &c.

My Younger brothers, the Shawannese, are much stupified since last war, they are become very foolish and obstinate, and are very high for war. My Grandchildren, the Miamies likewise—The back Nations look at them with a jealous eye—Indeed, some of my friends have told me that the back Nations wished to see the Shawannese a one side by themselves, that they may fall upon them; and have washed their kittles to boil the Shawannese, so as to have good broth, &c.

On the first of September the Shawanese call a council, and they did meet the Delawares, Shawannese, Miamies, out cast Cherokees, Monthees, Wenuhtokowuk, Kuhnauwautheew, and Wyondots. Then the Shawannese delivered a Speech to the Wyondots. The substance of his speech is this:—

It would be best for the Confederacy to wait a few days longer, when all the back Nations arrives, then we shall be able to do some Business. After this, then they disperse. Previous to this council I gave orders to my friend, Captain Vermilion, (who understands the Wyondots and other languages,) to attend closely, &c.

On the 3d I went up to Big Cat's Village with one of

my young man, to see whether they had got ready to send runners with mine to Fort Jefferson, as it was agreed—arrived there about middle afternoon. Then my uncle, Pohquonnoppeet, sent his boy for Big Cat, and in few minutes he come in and happy to see us, and he immediately began to relate to us many things, which took up the whole after noon, and when he ended, then I begin to speak upon the Subject which I repeatly mentiond to them. Then he says we are ready, and we must do that business to-morrow. In this evening my friend Wenummon or Vermilion arrived from the Forks, and deliverd the following report to us:—

After the chiefs dispersed from the Council, (which was the 1st of September,) the Wyondots invited me to their camp, and there they inform'd me that they did not come to attend the Voice of Shawannese. But as we were passing by their town they said to us, here you must stay—But our intention was to go to our nephews, the Delawares, for we wished to hear their sentiments. But as for the voice of Shawannese, I put it under my feet, I do not regarded it.

And further says the Head Warrior of Wyondots—our Sachems have met with the Sachems of Chepawas, Ottawas, and Potawautommees, and in a council opened the strings and belt, the Message of the U. S. in order to manifest their minds to each other. And I myself speak, (says the Head warrior,) to my Sachems, in these words:—

Although I love to do evil things, am a mischevous man, yet since I heard such a good Message I immediately put away my tomhawk, and take hold this good Message with both hands, for I never had such a pure Message from the Big knifes. I am sure that you my Sachems will be glad to take hold of it likewise, &c. But before these great Sachems come to conclusion, to our surprise, an alarming Voice reached to our ears—that the Big knifes are on their

march to fall upon the nations at the Forks, and have killed three of the Delawares.

Then the great Sachems says, we will cover this belt and strings in a blanket. They say to us, you the Head warriors and young men must now exert yourselves, and go see your friends at the Forks, and there you will find whether this terrible Voice is realy true, &c. Then the Head Warriors also say to their Sachems, you the Sachems likewise must exert yourselves to consider this pleasant Message, &c.

On the 4th inst. early morning, the chiefs sent for us. Then we went and met them in a council at the house of Big Cat; and before we proceed on the business mentioned yesterday, we inform'd our Grandfathers the report of Captain Vermilion. Then the Chiefs and Heroes talk among themselves, and conclude to send Vermilion back again at the Forks, to inform the Wyondots what were the sentiments of Delawares, on the following words:—

Uncles—

You have wished to hear our sentiments, now attend. I find that it is best for our nations to send information to the great man of the United Sachems at the first fort. I say, inform him that we have received their Good Message of peace, and that we have forwarded it to the back Nations, and that we expect these nations in a few days, and that the sachems will meet him after we are all agreed, that he may lengthen his patience, and that he may hold fast the hostile Big knifes, &c.

Then Vermilion set out for the Forks, and he is to return to-morrow, and he is orderd to tell the Head Warriors of Wyondots, that if they are not satisfied after hearing this proposal, then they must come, and they shall hear plainer, &c.

In the morning of the 5th, about 10 clock, he, the Ver-

milion, got back again and said—although the Wyondots are well satisfied in hearing—yet they propose to come today, but they did not arrive untill the sun about one hour high. Then the Heroe, Puckunchehluh, informd the Wyondots that they could not do any business untill to-morrow. The Chiefs agreed how to deliver their sentiments. My uncle, Pohquonnoppeet, was well acquainted with the language of Wyondots—they appointed him to deliver their sentiments. Accordingly the next morning we met together in a council, and Pohquonnoppeet, the Sachem, speak for the Delawares, as he did many times; it was the same speech which was sent by Vermilion—But these words were added to it—

Uncles—

You now again hear my sentiments, and you are nearly concernd in these things, and you must now manifest your minds whether you approve of our design or not—whether you would likewise put your voice with ours, in sending information to fort Jefferson or not—and you must not only think I will hear my nephews, but you must exert yourselves and do the work for it belongs to you &c. Then the Heroes of Wyondots began to speak by themselves—some of them said let us do the same, some others say we had better go back first, may be by this time some of our Sachems are arrived, let us inform them first what we are about to do &c.

Then they reply—

Nephew—

We are very happy to hear your sentiments, we will return to our quarters at the Forks, and we will be here again after two nights, then we will manifest our sentiments to you &c. Then they set out five in number.

Then my Grandfathers said to us—

Grandchildren—

We will put off our business untill the Wyondots mani-

fest their opinions, for undoubtly they will speak in conjuction with us. Then you my Grandchild must be here with us, and write our speech to the great man at fort Jefferson. Then we also went back to our quarters at the Forks, and after two nights were expired I found that the Wyondots are not gone yet. But on the 10th inst. we went up to attend the proposed council—arrived there in the evening—and the next day some the chiefs come to our quarters at the house of Pohquonnoppeet—Then they informd me how the Wyondots have sent a message to them three days ago. The substance of their message is this—

Nephew—

We could not agree with your plan of sending a message to the Big knifes; because many nations are on their way coming; if they should hear that you have sent message and have shaken hands with the Big knifes, they would be displeased and would not come. At the same time nephew I sent our Tobaco to reach your hand and lead you here, for we wish to hear you further—and the Seven Nations arrived here yesterday—for that reason also we wish you to be here.

Our Grandfathers having been informed how that Simon Girty artfully led astray some the Head Warriors of Wyondots, also some of the Delawares—he had been acting like one of the Emisarys of the evil spirit—he advised them to contradict the sentiments of these chiefs, and put reasons in their mind to use why they could not agree. Accordingly, the Wyondots did not come as they promised, but sent one of the Delawares to deliver their Message. Then says the speaker, Our Head warrior Puckonchehluh, after hearing these things, got up and began to reply, and sent the following answer—

Uncles—

I shall not go according to the invitation you sent; for why should you wish to hear me further? Seeing you did not

regard my good sentiments—surely I will not say any thing further to you—But Wyondots, English, and the Five Nations, must now deeply consider. You gave me the tomhawk—You laid the foundation of our ruin—now you are setting still, as soon as you hear me speaking something of peace you are displeased. Why—because you live in a safe place—yonder. You use me as your front door, now let us exchange our seats, let me live or set yonder, and you set here as my front door see whether you would not rejoice to hear the offers of peace. And further, what is the reason you did not come according to your promise? I think it is for guilt, and you may depend upon it that I do not wish to hear the advise of Simon Girty, the White man, nor any of my nation who resides at the Forks, for they must not speak for the Wyondots &c. Then Pohquonnoppeet got up and said—We have heard strange things from the Forks—I have brought Simon Girty and his brothers from Ohio—had I thought then, that this Simon, my prisioner or any of them, would hearafter creep about like a serpent to led poor Indians astray, by giving bad advise, and oppose the chiefs, and overthrow good things, I say had I thought this, I would in a moment knock their heads all to pieces, and would by no means suffer them to come among us, &c. After this then they dismiss the Messager of Wyondots.

The Wyondots were divided one part of them held the opinion of Delawares.

On the 12th of September a Message of Colonel M'Kee brought at the Forks, which he sent by his son and nephew from the rapids, was interpreted in the language of Shawanny. The substance of it is this.

My friends who resides at the Forks attend—

You seem to begin to be weary of doing your business—but I now exhort you to consider seriously what is best for you and your children.

My friends—

I now gave you a caution—there is Muhheconneew talking continually among you at the Forks. Do not mind what he says, for he is sent by the Big knifes. If you do believe him, then you will be a miserable people, for then you will forfeit every thing—if the Muhheconneew had business other than from the Big knifes, we could have heard it &c.

My friends—

I am coming, I shall now assist you, as I have promised three years ago. I did say at that time, that whatever the great King directed that I will do; now I have received his orders, every thing is ready for you, guns and amunition, and cloathing, that you may stand strong against your enemies.

Then I said to my friends, that I could convince M'Kee that I have a lawful Business with you here—which his Masters will not forbid.

On the 13th Brant's messengers arrived, eleven in number. The Head of them called Tawalooth.

On the 17th inst. this Tawalooth, Brant's nephew, and now messenger, delivered a speech in a council. He informd the Shawannese and others that he is now come with ten men to assist these nations in war &c.

Then he delivered Brant's Message to these Nations.

The substance of it is this.

My friends of the whole Confederate nations, who has one colar, attend—

I now send my voice to you, to let you know that I have wonderfully got thro from here to Congress and back again. I am much concernd for you but am lame and could not go at present—but will go and see you as soon as may be.

My friends—

I now tell you do not believe what Message the Muhheconneew brought to you, neither believe what he says,

if you do you will be greatly deceived. I have myself seen Washington, and see his heart and bowels; and he declared that he claims from the mouth of Miamie to the head of it—thence to the head of Wabash river, and down the same to the mouth of it; and that he did take up dust, and did declare that he would not restore so much dust to the Indians, but he is willing to have peace with the Indians, &c.

Previous to this, M'Kee had informed the Indians that he received a letter from Captain Brant. In this letter says M'Kee, Brant enquird of me, whether it is safe for him to come among you. Then I sent answer to let him know that it was my opinion there is no danger.

Brant as it were felt guilty for going alone to Congress, contrary to what he recommended to those nations, that no individual nation or person should go to speak to the Big knifes, that if any do this, they or he must be abandoned.

This Tawalooth could speak the Shawany tongue, also some other languages, and he told many lies against us. Among other things he told the Indians that Muhheconneew have sent letters to the Big knifes, to inform them that they have gained the attention of so many Nations—that the Big knifes may now come and fall upon these Indians unexpectedly. This he told to frustrate peace, and that we may be hated or killed. He is a proper Liar or Emmissary of the Devil. He did hurt the feelings of many Indians, and greatly hurt the Message of the U. S. by delivering his uncle's Message, and by his own artful lies.

The different nations are exceeding slow about coming to attend a Grand Council proposed last winter, although they were hastened last spring; but they put it off untill green corn was fit to roast. At this time there are only about one hundred and fifty, of four nations, Wyondots, Ottawas, Chepawas, and of Potawatommees.

September 18th.—By this time the war party are very

high and dispute with the party for peace and that almost every day. Vermilion told me the substance of the depate between two Heroes which was pased yesterday. The one is for peace and the other for war. One say, it would be good thing if we could have peace—the other said it would be a brave and good thing for us to maintain war and defend our country—then says the other it would be exceeding folly for us to have war longer. Then the other says, because you are a coward that is the reason you speak of peace. Then the other says, I am not a coward as you are, but I am sensible that war will never do us good; you do not consider, but according to your foolishness so you speak; you do not remember how you almost eat your own dung this summer for reason of war. Then the other did not say a word again but went out.

On the 24th of the inst. one hundred of the Indians went back again after hearing the Shawannese talking of so much for war, before the council begins—all the Ottawas, Chepawas, and Potawatommees, but they left two or three out of each nation to attend the council; and many other Indians have left this place and have stolen many horses from Shawannese and from other Indians.

On the 27th inst. Hopaukun or Pipe arrived from the rapids and told us that the Senacas, or Five Nations arrived there a few days ago—there they hold a Council with us, says Pipe. Then on 28th, our Grandfathers invited us to attend a council with them. Then we met them—the Delawares, Monthees, Wenuhtkowuk, Kuhnauwautheew, five Nations of us called Eastern nations or Wauponnuhk. Then the Sachem Pipe got up and said we all present. Then he began to relate what councils they have had with the Senacas, and he repeat all their speech and show the strings which the Five Nations used. The substance of their speech is this—the first, to wipe of tears &c —and the second, manifest grieviences for an account of the unhap-

py situation of Indians by means of white people, &c.—and the third, to remind their Nephews the hapiness they enjoyd once by the means of their ancient Sachems, but now their eyes look as if they had been drunk, &c.—and the fourth speech is, to take off the Tomhawhawk from the head of Monthees, &c. After this says Pipe we then gave them answer &c. Then the Senacas deliverd two speeches in belts—the first is, to poll out great Pine tree, and thro their tomhawk, which they just now take from the head of their Nephew, in the hole and then set the Pine tree again, and then are to plant good tree, &c. and the second belt is an exhortation &c. At this time the Five Nations arrived at the Forks.

On the 30th of September, then the grand Council began. We all the eastern tribes went together on single file to attend the Council at Shawanny village. We meet with the Shawannese, Miamies, out cast Cherekees, and did speak to the Five Nations. They concluded to deliver a smart speech to them on the morrow. For they look upon the Five Nations and the English as the means of this unhappy war: (says they,) the English and the Five Nations did lay a foundation for our ruin. They gave us the tomhawk, and the English are at the bottom of this war ever since—and it would be all right for to throw the hatchet back to the English and to the Five Nations, that the English and Five Nations must settle all the difficulties with the Big knifes. But we must retain all our lands just as much as before the war. Let English and Five Nations lose their lands &c.

Accordingly in the morning of the first day of October, we went to attend the council in the same manner as before. We went in one body to show that we have been in good friendship this great length of time, &c. After we arrived at the council fire we meet the Shawannese, Miamies, out cast Cherekees, and few of the Ottawas and Wy-

ondots, and two or three of the Potawatommees, and two or three of the Chepawas. Then the Shawany Heroes got up and said let us now march to the camp of the Five Nations, there we will have a council with them, and drive away their minds. Then we set out about five hundred of us, on a single file, to the camp of the Senacas. But these nations now agreed not to deliver the smart speech proposed yesterday, but to wait asoon as the Five Nation speak amiss this smart speech shall be delivered to them, &c.

Then the Shawanny warrior began to address the Five Nations—first to wipe off the tears &c.—the second speech to demand the whole minds of the Five Nations—the third speech is, to remind them of the ancient fire that they ought to have kept. Then the council adjourned till to-morrow at which time the Senacas are to manifest their whole minds.

On the 2d of the inst. rains very hard which prevents this Council, but on the 4th we met again in council. But before the Five Nations deliver their minds, I privately advised my friend the Red Jacket, to tell these nations that they ought to speak to the Big knifes for peace &c. But before they the Five Nations speak, the Shawannese speak again, to remind the Five Nations of their speech four years ago, how that the Five Nations then exhort and press these nations to unite with all the Shouthern and Northern Nations &c. Then the speaker produce large bunch of wampom in strings and two belts, which strings and belts the southern and northern Tribes have sent as a token of complying with the Union. Look on these says the speaker we have done our work. Then he says to the Five Nations, I suppose you likewise have done great deal of work towards establishing this Union in these four years past: and further, says he, You the Five Nations must now take hold the hands of these whose speeches I now

have in my hand, &c.—and likewise he showd the Pipe of the Northern nations, which was sent here since we come, &c. Then the speaker says this Pipe will be sent back again immediately after you manifest your sentiments; three of the Muskowuk here present will also go back to the southward.

Then the Head warrior, Puckonchehluh, got up and speak to the Five Nations.

Uncles—

You have heard how we have done our part towards establishing our Union—you also have seen the wampom and the pipe—by this you have seen that we have kept your speeches which you delivered to us four years past.

Uncles—

In our publick council you tell us, we whose are one colar, now have one heart and one head. If any Nation strikes us, we must all feel it. Now you must consider whether this is true what you told us. This all I got to say.

Then the Senaca Chief, (named Red Jacket,) speak and rehearsed what has been said to them, and thanked these nations for it. Then says he the day is far spend, therefore you must come again early to-morrow morning, then I shall speak, &c. This evening my brother Captain Vermilion came to our camp, and told me that he had seen Colonel M'Kee, and that M'Kee inquired where I was, and I told him in such a place; then says M'Kee I wish that you would tell him that I wish he would not think hard of me for the stories he heard, for how can I do such a thing when I know that Muhheconneew come here upon a good business, therefore whoever tells that Story is a Liar &c.

On the 5th, then we met again in a council. Then the five Nations began to speak, and manifest their minds, and take the strings of wampom, and said, our forefathers use to take pains to promote the happiness of their children, and we must imitate their Customs. But in these days we

are much altered. Our Sachems used to set before the Head warriors, but now you set before your Sachems. (The Shawannese have set up such custom that the Chief Warriors should be foremost in doing business.) Now let your Sachems set before you—for they are the proper managers of publick affairs—they will seek the welfare of your children.

And further. When the white people first arrived in this country they were friendly to our ancestors, and they use to purchase land of them. At length they would demand so much land—and our forefathers used to grant it. At last these whites parted and quarrel. The Americans then advise us not to join either side, but set still mind our own affairs, and they then give us a caution that if we do contrary to this advise we shall forfeit our lands. But soon after this advise we put ourselves on the British side, and few days after, the English was thrown down. Then the Big knifes cut off our lands.

Brothers and Nephews—

As you have demanded the whole of our minds, do then attend. Let us speak to the Big knifes for peace; for it appears to us, that there are not many difficulties to make peace: for this reason, every time the Big knifes come to fight against you, you throw them down. If they had thrown you down as you did to them, then it would be difficult to make peace with them.

Several strings of wampom delivered.

Again Red Jacket got up and said, our ancestors did build a fire yonder; but the Big knifes have put it out, and we the Five Nations kindle this fire now again, the smoake of which will rise upward.

A little belt delivered.

Then the Seven Nations of Canada began to speak. The chief got up and wipe the tears of these Nations, &c.

Strings delivered.

Then he proceeded further, with a large belt, on the following words.

Brothers of the Confederacy—

Hear me—I am to speak again. The Warriors of seven Nations speak to you the Head warriors of different nations. I am a warrior myself. Our forefathers used to hear each other, and they used to exert themselves to promote their welfare, and have fixed rules for us.

Now attend—

Since I come I perceive that you set contrary the rules of our ancestors—you put yourselves in the foremost, and your Sachems behind; which we the warriors of Canada, will not do, but will always set our Sachems in front. Whatever they conclude to be for our general good, we'll submit. Now do let your sachems set before you, and let them go on with the business, for they had a compassionate feeling for you, and if they could not do any thing then you may stir.

One large belt delivered.

Again the speaker took up another belt, on the following words.

Brothers—

Sachems of the seven N. speak to you, the Sachems of different Tribes. We exhort you to take up your seats and your business. Let all of us speak to the Big Knifes for peace, and if they refuse to make peace with us, then no white people or Nation could blame us if we then all of us strike them. The Great Spirit is beholding of us &c.

Second belt is deliverd.

Again he takes up another belt.

And we the Heroes of the Seven Nations, now speak again—to let you know that we will not do contrary to the conclusions of our Sachems. And further if our Sa-

chems could not obtain their desires, then we shall rise up and take up our Tomhawk to strike the Big knifes, &c.

Third belt deliverd.

Then he took up another belt, and mentioned a particular Nation of the seven—who repeats the words, that if the Sachems could not prevail, so as to have peace, he will rise and take up the hatchet, and strike the Big knifes, &c.

Fourth belt deliverd.

Again he takes up another belt, and mentioned another particular Nation of the same confederacy—that if the sachems could not obtain their desire, then I will rise with my warriors to strike the Big knifes, &c.

Fifth belt deliverd.

Then he takes up another belt, the speech of another particular nation of the seven, with the same resolution—that if the Sachems could not obtain their desire, &c.

Sixth belt deliverd.

Then he take up another belt, the resolution and delaration of another particular Tribe of the seven—that if the sachems, &c.

Seventh belt deliverd.

Then he takes up another large white belt of beeds, to answer the Message of Muskoo Nation, on the following words. All what you desire in your speech, respecting our Union, we the Seven Nations, do comply with it. But you cannot see us this time, but hearafter we will see one another. There are twenty-five towns of us who receive your proposals, &c.

Eighth belt delivered.

Then he takes up another belt of a other northern Nation, to answer the Muskoo, for the same purpose, &c.

Ninth belt deliver.

Then he take few strings of wampom, and speak on the following words.

Brothers of the different Nations. You have heard the voice of the Seven Nations, which I now fasten &c.

Strings deliverd.

The 6th inst. we met in council. The Shawanny Chief began to speak to the Seven Nations of Canada. The substance of the answer is, that they were very glad to hear the voice of the Seven Nations, &c. But they did not say we will do what you propose to us.

Few strings of Wampom deliverd.

Then they began with the Five Nations, with a malicious Voice, and again asked the Five Nations what was their business with the white people these several years &c. Then the Senacas said, you the Shawannese, well know our business with the white people. Eight years ago, you were present, and since that, the business we had with Americans is *this;* here take it and view it. The speaker then delivered a tin case, which contained a map and all the speeches of Colonel Pickering delivered to the Senacas at Philada. After this then we all disperse.

Then we did not met together untill the 9th inst.—few of them met in council. Then the Shawannese deliverd a speech to the Five Nations. The substance of it is this. We have acquainted you of our Business with the western nations. Now you may return home, and tell your white people all what you have heard. And be it known to you that we could not speak to the Big knifes at the forts for in those places is blood. The United States have laid these troubles, and they can remove these troubles. And if they take away all their forts and move back to the ancient line, then we will believe that they mean to have peace, and that Washington is a great man—then we may meet the U. S. at Sandusky, or kausaumuhtuk, next spring.

Few strings deliverd.

Then the Senacas, Onondacas, Cayocas, heartily thankd Shawanese, and others, for this harsh proposal, &c.

The 11th inst. the Shawanese and Wyondots, and few other indivituals met in a private Council, and obstinately declared for war. At that time most of the Senacas had set out homewards. In the evening Captain Brant arrived, at which time the general Councils is already broke up.

On the 12th inst. Brant relates all his proceedings since last winter. At this time I saw the warriors of Shawannese and Wyondots divide amunition, which Colonel M'Kee sent to them. Then I see them set out for war.

On the 14th Brant went back again to the rapids &c.

This day some of the Shawannese set out for Muskoo country, &c.

On the 15th some of the hostile Delawares set out to see what the Shawannese will do at the forts, and Nine of the Mohawks.

The whole of the war party who went out, are about two hundred men.

My friends who are for peace, have sometime ago declared, that if treaty could not take place this fall, yet they will send their voice to the U. S. that the U. S. may know what were the obsticles in the path of peace.

On the 18th inst. Big Cat and some of his heroes came to us by order of the Council, to desire me to write their speech to the U. S. Then the Sachem begins on the following words.

Although we well know that Shawannese and Wyondots do not speak from the heart to the Five Nation respecting a treaty next spring, yet we who are for peace will bring them to it, &c.

Then he begin to deliver their message to the U. S. which I have put in other paper, &c.

The substance of a message to the U. S. delivered by Mkhequeh Posees, or Big Cat, Sachem of Wenaumie or Delaware.

Brothers attend—

We speak to you, and to acquaint you that your good Message was deliverd to us last summer by our friends of Muhheconnuk, and also to acquaint you what were the reasons that we could not meet your great man.

You may remember that you have some people among you who have and will oppose the work of peace. We likewise unavoidably have such. In your Message you have told us that you have some doubts with regard of your Messengers of peace, whether they reachd to us, that we may hear your voice of peace.

Brothers—

You have a reason to doubt, for we have among us, foolish and obstinate young men—of such, went out early last spring to hunt, and come cross your Messengers, and have killed them; it was not out of our desire nor Custom to kill such—

Brothers—

When we heard your Message of peace, it gladen our hearts, and did take a hold of it immediately; then we exhort our sachems to forwarded to the Wyondots first and to the greater Nations, (to wit) the Ottawas, Chepawas, and Potawatommees, who we knew would glad to hear such Message, and would readily accepted; our intention was this, that the Message should go around to these greater nations, and that it will come to us with these nations (at the Forks.) Then we was to repeat and declare that we have received such Message and did taken hold of it (that is, we so many nations comply with it.) Then the Shawannese would oblige to submit. Then we was to send an escort to fort Jefferson to make our conclusions known.

Our Sachems without any delay did forward the Message to the abovementioned nations and they the Wyondots, sent runners to invite the Sachems and Head warriors of

Ottawas, Chepawas, and Potawatommees, to meet such a place, at the same time gave them notice that they have received such a Message of the U. S. for which they must meet together. According to this invitation, the Sachems of these nations meet in council for the good Message. But before they come to conclusion, an alarming voice reachd their ears that the Big knifes come on their way to fight against the nations, and have killed three of the Delawares, who went to see whether it was true that the Big knifes are come.

Brothers—

This terrible voice was the first reason or obsticle, for which the war party have occasion to oppose the work of peace, and for which the Sachems and Head warriors of the four nations cover the Belt in a blanket.

Brothers—

The second reason is this, that before we could remove the first obsticle, the voice of the Five Nations reached our ears, and did not speak agreeable to your good Message, which strengthen the arguments of the enticers to war.

Brothers—

The third reason is this, that immediately after the second reason, the Message of Brant reachd to our ears by his Nephew. A Prohibitory and Cautionary Message that the Confederacy should not listen nor believe what Message the Muhheconneew brought neither to what he say, for if you do believe, you will be greatly deceived. And further says he, I have seen the great men of the U. S.— they speak good words to Muhheconnuk, but they did not speak so well to the Five Nations, and they speak contrary to the Big knifes, that the Big knifes may prepare for war and fall upon the Indians unawares; and the Presidend of the U. S. did declare that he claim from the mouth of Miamie river on Lake Erie to its head from

thence to the head of Wabash river, and down the same to the mouth of it, and that he will by no means restored to the Indians.

Brothers—

The fourth reason is, that by our spies we do understand that the Big knifes does truely preparing for war, and have strengthen the fort Jefferson.

Brothers—

The fifth reason is, that Col. M'Kee's son brought a letter from Detroit. That one of the Americans arrived there with an intelligence that the Big knifes have brought a large quantity of Goods and Liquors in the forts, which they will send with the army, and that before they will come to battle against the Indians they will put a Poison in the Goods and Liquors, and that after a little fight they will retreat and leave the Goods and Liquors, by which means many of the Indians will die.

Brothers—

These are the principal reasons or obsticles which enrage the hostile party, and when we come to Debate their arguments are stand in force, and we could not convince them otherwise.

Brothers—

Now the matter is laid before you; if you discourage we will also discouraged; but if you will lengthen your patience, and manifest your power in withdrawing the Big knifes from the forts which stands on our land—then repeat your Message of peace to us. Then we will arise immediately, and exert ourselves to promote peace. Then we can assure the back nations that you have a power to govern the hostile Big knifes, and that you mean to have peace. Then the back nations will never regard the voice of these hostile Nations here. Then the war party will be speechless.

As I have propose to mention—The complaints or argu-

ments of these Indians, and my arguments to convince them in several times, I will now put down.

First principal thing they argue is this—that the white people are deceitful in their dealings with us the Indians; (says they) The white people have taken all our lands from us, from time to time, until this time, and that they will continue the same way, &c. Then I reply and say it has been too much so, because these white people was governed by one Law, the Law of the great King of England; and by that Law they could hold our lands, in spite of our dissatisfaction; and we were too fond of their liquors. But now they have new Laws their own, and by these Laws Indians cannot be deceived as usual, &c. And they say, but these Big knifes have take away our lands since they have their own way. And then I tell them, for this very reason the United Sachems invite you to treat with them that you may settle these dificulties—for how can these dificulties settled without you treat with them?

Another thing they mention—says they, the Big knifes have used learning to Civilize Indians: and after they Christianize number of them so as to gain their attention, then they would killed them, and have killed of such 96 in one day. at Cosuhkeck, few years ago.

Another instance they mention—that one of the Chiefs of Shawany was friendly to the Big knifes, and Big knifes gave him a flag, that where ever the chief should come a cross the Big knifes, he is to hoist up this flag, then they will meet together in peace But soon after this agreement was made, the Big knifes came in the town of this Chief; some of the Indians could not trust the Big knifes and run off; but the Chief have such confidence in the words of the Big knifes he hoisted up his flag; but the Big knifes did not regarded, but killed the Chief and number of his friends.

Another instance they mention—that some of the Delawares was with the Big knifes on the service of Ameri-

cans; but afterward the Big knifes have fall upon them and have killed number of them &c. And since that, every time the Big knifes get ready to come against us, they would sent message to us for peace—then they come to fight us—and they know how to speak good, but would not do good towards Indians &c.

Then I tell them I very sorry to hear these things. If the great men of the United States have the like principal or disposition as the Big knifes had, My nation and other Indians in the East would been along ago anihilated. But they are not so, Especially since they have their Liberty—they begin with new things, and now they endeavour to lift us up the Indians from the ground, that we may stand up and walk ourselves; because we the Indians, hitherto have lay flat as it were on the ground, by which we could not see great way; but if we could stand then we could see some distance. The United States in seeing our situation they put their hands on us, and lead us in the means of Life untill we could stand and walk as they are. But on the other hand, the British seeing the Indians in their situation, they would just cover them with blanket and shirt every fall, and the Indians feel themselves warm, and esteem that usage very high—therefore they remain as it were on the ground and could not see great way these many years, &c.

And further I told them, the United Sachems will not speak wrong. Whatever they promise to Indians they will perform. Because out of 30,000 men, they chuse one men to attend in their great Council Fire—and such men must be very honest and wise, and they will do Justice to all people &c. In this way of converseing with them repeatly, make them willing to hear further.

Another thing they urge that the United States could not govern the hostile Big knifes—and that they the Big knifes, will always have war with the Indians. If the United States could govern them, then the peace could

stand sure. But the Big knifes are independent, and if we have peace with them, they would make slaves of us.

Then I told them, the reason the Big knifes are so bad, is this because they have run away from their own country of different States, because they were very mischivous, such as theives and robbers and murderes—and their laws are so strict these people could not live there without being often punished; therefore they run off in this contry and become lawless. They have lived such a distance from the United States, that in these several years the Law could not reached them because they would run in the woods, and no body could find them. But at length the people of the United States settle among them, and the Law now binds them; and if they would endeavour to run in the woods as usual, you would then have chance to knock their heads and they know this, therefore they oblige to set still, &c.

And further (says I,) we the Indians have such people also; for instance, here is Kuttoohwoh, or Cherekes; they could not live among their own people in their own Contry, because they have strict Laws, so that if any steals, he must be whipt immediately; and if any commit adultery his ears will be cut off; and if any murders he will be instandly killed, &c. In all my arguments with these Indians, I have as it were oblige to say nothing with regard of the conduct of Yorkers, how they cheat my fathers, how they taken our lands Unjustly, and how my fathers were groaning as it were to their graves, in loseing their lands for nothing, although they were faithful friends to the Whites; and how the white people artfully got their Deeds confirm in their Laws, &c. I say had I mention these things to the Indians, it would agravate their prejudices against all white people, &c.

And here I will also mention the substance of my speech to these Nations, deliverd immediately after Brant's Prohibitory and Cautionary Message delivered. And after the

Indians been informd by some Emmissaries, that I and my Companions were sent by the Big knifes to number the Indians, and was to return again with the information, that the White people may judge how many men will be sufficient to fall upon the Indians, &c.

I begin with these words:—

Grandfathers—and Brothers—and friends—attend—

As we have acquaint to each other many things, and as we have agreed that we would set together in council to manifest our sentiments to each other, I will now speak. We have heard variors reports of many birds, for which occasion I will now speak. The Prohibitory Voice of the Mohawks has reachd your ears, that you should not believe the Message I deliver to you, nor to what I say, that I was to deceive you, &c.

My Grandfathers Brothers and friends—

Let us consider the meaning of this Brant's Message—by the sound of it, he point at me as a deceiver or roag, that every nation must be warned. But let us now look back in the path of our forefathers, and see whether you can find one single instance wherein, or how my ancestors or myself have deceived you, or led you one step astray. I say Let us look narrowly, to see whether you can find one bone of yours lay on the ground, by means of my deceitfulness, and I now declare that you cannot found such instance. And further, you may reflect, and see wherein I have speak deceitfully since I come here, that Mohawks should have occasion to stop your ears. But you look back and see heaps of your bones, wherein the Mauquas have deceived you repeatly. I think I could have good reason to tell you not to believe the Message or words of the Mohawks, for they will deceive you greatly as Usual—but I forbear.

Another information reached your ears, that I and my men were sent on purpose to number your nations &c. This also is a Dark Lye, for if you only consider whether

I ever ask any of you how many warriors have you, you could easyly know whether I was sent on this Business.

My friends—

I now tell you that the white people well knew your numbers not only your warriors, but your women and children too. (How come they know you would say) because in every fall you gave your numbers to the whites therefore they knew it. Now consider, and think whether there is any need on the part of the Whites to sent me to number your nations, &c.

Six strings of wampom delivered.

After this—then they talk among themselves, and then rehearse my speech and heartily thank me for the same.

And the Sachem of Delaware speak and said—

Grandchild—

It is true all what have said, we could not found any instance wherein your ancestors have deceived our fathers, and we cannot find any fault with your words since you meet us in this country &c. But on the other hand, our Uncles have injured us much these many years; and now after they divided, now they wanted to divide us also. And further, it is true we have gave our numbers to the English every year &c.

I have not mention several speeches with wampom delivered by these Indians to me while I was with them, and my last speech to Shawany &c. and many other affairs.

I now have occasion to say that I have been endeavouring to do my best in the business of peace and according to my best knowledge with regard of the desires of the United States, I have press in the minds of friends in the westward repeatly.

But since I arrived at home I understand that my Character is darkend by envious Indians who stayed but few days in Miamie. But for my conduct I will appeal to the nations whom I had Business with last summer, that is if

any of my Brothers should doubt of my faithfulness. But this one thing, every wise men well knew, that to employ an enemy or half friend, will never speak well, &c.

With regard to myself, I think it is easy matter to find out whether I was not faithful with the United States in the late war, and whether I have not been faithfull in the work of peace according to abilities in these near two years. I have as it were sacrifice all my own affairs, and my family, for the sake of peace and this last time have gone from home better than Eleven months, and have gone thro a hazardous journeys, and have sufferd with sickness and hunger, and have left my Counsellors with the nations who are for peace, to promote peace and forward every means of peace while I am absent—not only so but I have been pleading and Justifying the Conduct of these people, for which they were well received at their arrival at Miamie. Notwithstand of all this, they brought my Name at Nought. The occasion of my speaking this sort, because of many evil and false reports sounded in the ears of my friends—and I am ready to answer any thing that may be asked respecting to the different Tribes of Indians, &c.—

HENDRICK AUPAUMUT.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

SETTLEMENT

OF

THE DUNKERS

AT

EPHRATA,

IN

LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY

REDMOND CONYNGHAM, ESQ.
OF CARLISLE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A

SHORT HISTORY

OF THAT

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY.

BY THE LATE

REV. CHRISTIAN ENDRESS,
OF LANCASTER.

Read at a meeting of the Council, October 18th, 1826.

AN ACCOUNT, &c.

THE following account of this curious establishment, was communicated by Redmond Conyngham, Esq. of Carlisle, in this State. It contains some particulars not generally known, and more fully describes the religious tenets of these honest people, than any other account that we have seen. But thirty or forty years ago, the Dunkers were occasionally noticed in this city, as they came down with their produce for sale; and their long beards, capuchin habiliments, and meagre visages, attracted much attention. The reduction of their numbers gradually rendered the sight of them among us uncommon, and it now appears, that unless new converts to their religion and their austerities shall be shortly made, this ascetic community will soon become extinct.

The present publication will be read with interest, by those who feel a satisfaction in tracing the workings of the mind, the extremes to which it is sometimes led by ardent imaginations, and the short duration of many of those enthusiastic schemes of separation from the sober and general community of men. But as it appeared probable, that still more information might be obtained by further inquiries, Mr. Conyngham, at the instance of a mem-

ber of the Society, has been kind enough to procure the additional Communication from the Rev. Christian Endress, of Lancaster, with his permission to insert it in our Memoirs.

It may be proper to add, that Mr. Conyngham's paper was written some years ago; and describes the peculiar manners prevalent at Ephrata during the period when monastic discipline maintained its rule. Several of the statements respecting dress, &c. though expressed in the present tense, must, therefore, be understood as having reference to times that are past.

MR. CONYNGHAM'S

ACCOUNT OF EPHRATA.

In the year 1730, in the bosom of a beautiful dale lying between two wood-crowned hills, at whose bottom a handsome stream of water winded through the low grounds, was formed the settlement of *Ephrata.*

The whole land belonging to the proprietors, consisted of two hundred and fifty acres, about eleven miles from Lancaster. The road from Lancaster was good, and the scenery along its way attractive, from its variety. Lancaster is principally settled by Germans, plain, easy, and simple in their manners; an honest, frugal, and industrious people.

Near Ephrata, the country was rather retired,

and almost in a state of nature. The inhabitants lived scattered, and concealed from each other by the neighbouring woods, in the serpentine windings of the roads passing from cabin to cabin. Nothing was to be seen but the first impression made by man upon the surrounding forest. Nature retained all its beauty; man had not then added to its embellishment.

The first settler lived in solitude for many years on the spot where Ephrata now stands; he required not, nor did he seek assistance from others; he obtained by his own industry the necessaries of life which a grateful soil amply supplied.

The surrounding country gradually began to be settled by a class of Germans remarkable for probity, simplicity, and industry. Exemplary piety displayed itself throughout the settlement—their society became enlarged.

The females young and unmarried were placed in a mansion by themselves, under the care of an elderly and very respectable motherly woman.

They lived contented; ambition or politics did not disturb them; vice entered not into their lowly and humble dwellings; industry, frugality, neatness, affability, and above all, christianity and brotherly love united them together, and they placed in one common fund the product of their individual labour.

The town of Ephrata is situated on the side of a little hill, sloping towards the south-east, and the woods on the north-west were left standing, to protect them from the extreme winter's cold. It is formed

like a triangle. On the outward lines are planted cherry, peach, plum, apple, quince, and pear trees, enclosing a large apple orchard within.

Their cabins have now given way to handsome and substantial dwellings of wood, three stories high. These are all neatly whitewashed both within and without, and are remarkable for their extreme neatness, regularity, and beautiful whiteness.

An apartment is appropriated to each individual, that their devotion may have no interruption.

Females have a portion of the town allotted to them; they have no communication with the men, except in matters of religion, and what may be necessary in the management of their concerns.

If any desire to marry, they leave the Society, and they are entitled to draw out of the public treasury their shares; but they settle in the vicinity of the Society, and send their children to be educated among their brothers or sisters. Economy and piety are strictly observed.

The winter's dress is a long white gown, fastened with a belt round the waist; behind hangs the cap—they wear no hats—a waistcoat, shirt, trowsers, and shoes. In summer, their garments are made of linen, in winter of cloth. The women wear the same as the men, except that instead of trowsers, they wear petticoats; and they conceal their faces when they walk out of their houses. The men let the beard grow, and crop their hair.

Their number consists of about three hundred men and women. They live on vegetables, and

will not touch animal food; hence they are lean of body, of a pale complexion, and apparently bloodless. Their recreations are connected with their religious duties. They worship four times in the twenty-four hours. In lieu of beds, they sleep upon benches, and use a little wooden block for a pillow; each room is supplied with a couple of these conveniences.

The President of the Dunkers received a regular education at Halle, in Germany. He was originally a minister of the Calvinist Church, but becoming dissatisfied, he left that Church, and joined the Dunkers. He was open, affable, familiar, easy of access, and agreeable in conversation. "My prin-"ciples, or rather those of my brethren are as fol-"lows," thus he says—

"We retain both sacraments; adults only are "admitted to baptism—We deny original sin. "It is immoral to use violence at any time, but our "duty to submit—We think going to law is not ac-"cording to Christianity, and it is expressly for-"bidden.

"We observe the Jewish Sabbath. We have no "regular form of worship. Our discourses treat "of the Christian virtues, Humility, Temperance, "Chastity, Fortitude, Charity, &c. We believe "the dead had the Gospel preached to them by our "Saviour, and after his resurrection, the souls of the "holy preached the Gospel to those who had not the "scripture revealed to them, or who are ignorant "of its truth and beauty.

"We deny eternal punishment. Those souls "who become sensible of God's great goodness "and clemency, and acknowledge his lawful autho- "rity, and that he is just, wise, and good, without a "stain or blemish, and that Christ is the only true "Son of God, are received into happiness; but those "who continue obstinate, are kept in darkness until "the Great day, when light will make all happy."

Such are their doctrines.

Affection is their bond of union. Kind and hospitable to strangers, they will give to the traveller such meals as he may require, and a night's lodging, but will receive no remuneration. The nuns draw beautifully with great execution and skill; much ingenuity is displayed in pieces of writing, with which their church is ornamented, done in German text. They are peculiarly fond of drawing flowers, of which they have a vast variety.

Thus ends the account of this society, which flourished in the year 1750—they are now much reduced in number. On the death of one or two persons, the property will escheat to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

MR. ENDRESS'S

HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY.

1. What are the names and ages of the survivors in the convent of Dunkers at Ephrata?

2. Is it understood that they still adhere to the same severe rules—sleeping on the floor, abstaining from animal food, &c.?

3. Was this mode of life found conducive to health and longevity? Can the ages of any of the old people, (if remarkable,) be ascertained?

4. Do those that married off, or their descendants, remain in the neighbourhood? and do they adhere to the same religious principles?

5. Do they still dress in the same manner?

6. In what respect did the Dunkers differ from the Mennonists?

There are but three survivors of the fraternity of Ephrata Dunkers, Henry Brendel, Jacob Angus, and Barbara Keiper. Brendel is about seventy-five years of age, Angus seventy, and Barbara Keiper between fifty and sixty. Many years ago, Brendel had married and left the convent. After the death of his wife he returned, and now lives in the brother-house with Angus, whose history is about the same. Lately the three of the old stock have attracted a few more to their number. But the practices and usages, so strictly observed in former

times, are almost altogether abandoned. Instead of resting on wood, with a log under their heads, they sleep in beds; they eat animal food; dress nearly like their neighbours around them; mingle with the world; and refrain from labouring on Sundays. Many of the original members arrived to a good old age; for the most part they lived to be eighty or ninety years old. It ought, however, to be borne in mind, that the institution was of such a nature, as to deter all others but persons of vigorous constitutions and enterprising spirits, from subjecting themselves to so rigid a discipline. They entered, for the most part, with healthful stamina of life; and it is well known that the human frame is often so robust, that even the most glaring practice of otherwise injurious habits, will not prevent it from climbing up to extreme old age. Besides, according to Sangmeister's account, which he has written as an eye witness of the Ephrata affairs, many of those whom we may reckon among the tender plants, withered beneath the influence of their self-denying practices. Some of those who married off, and their descendants, still remain in the neighbourhood, and adhere to the general principles of the original Dunkers. They, however, dispense with many of the practices, habits, and usages, observed by their ancestors, particularly those which they had adopted to torture the body for the benefit of the soul. But few of them keep the seventh day as their religious sabbath. With respect to the last of the questions above stated, the answer is a short

one. The Dunkers and Mennonists have nothing in common with each other, except the general creed of Christians; and, in singularities, their mode of appointing their ministers out of the general body without previous special instruction, their holding love feasts and washing each others feet as a religious ceremony, their rejecting infant baptism, and their distinguishing themselves from others by a singularity in dress and appearance.

The above is all I can say in direct answer to the queries proposed. At least the gentlemen who were politely engaged in making the appropriate inquiries, have not been able to learn any thing more full and explicit. But while these inquiries were progressing, I was employed in reading some of the works of the Ephrata brethren, hoping to gain from these, some, at least, of the looked for information. Little, however, could be gathered in reference to the special inquiries. Some historical facts drawn from them, and observations they have occasioned, I will here put down. They may perhaps serve to correct some inaccuracies, that have mingled with the accounts already given of this fraternity in the English language. The works are in German. They are—

1. Chronicon Ephratense, containing the life and actions of the Reverend Father in Christ, Friedsam Gottrecht, late founder and ruler of the spiritual order of the Solitary in Ephrata, in the county of Lancaster in Pennsylvania, by the brethren, Lamech and Agrippa.

2. The life and conversation of brother Ezechiel Sangmeister, (now resting in God and blest, but late an inhabitant of Ephrata, &c.) written by himself; to which is prefixed a short plan of a Chronick, concerning the origin and groundwork of the Ephrata institution, down to the deceased author's arrival there: after which, this Chronick is carried onward in conjunction with his own biography.

3. The songs of the solitary and forsaken turtle-dove, that is, of the Christian church; or, Spiritual and experimental hymns of affliction and love—wherein both the foretaste of the new world, and the intervening paths of pain and affliction, are presented according to their true value, and brought into spiritual rhymes, by a *Peaceable* pilgrim wandering to silent eternity, and now collected and published for the use of the solitary and forsaken in Zion. Ephrata, from the press of the fraternity in the year 1747.

To aid the reader in understanding the foregoing title, it may be proper to inform him, that it is no other than the Hymn book used in Ephrata, and published by Conrad Beissel, the founder and master of the fraternity.

Concerning the customary English title or denomination of this fraternity, and the names of the individuals, Lamech, Agrippa, and Friedsam Gottrecht, it may yet be premised, that the term *Dunkers* is a corruption of the German *Tunker*, the signification of which is Dippers or Baptists by plunging, a title as usual given to them by others,

because the person baptized among them was dipped or plunged three times under water: that the general religious community to which they profess to belong, call themselves Tæuffer, Baptists, or Baptizers: and that the names of the individuals in the Ephrata society were entirely changed at the time of baptism, those here put down being the names at that time given and assumed. The original name of the founder of Ephrata being Conrad Beissel, his assumed name was Friedsam Gottrecht, the English of which is *Peaceable* Godright. I will hereafter write the denomination, *Tunkers*.

According to the accounts given by Lamech, Agrippa, and Sangmeister, the Tunkers trace their origin from the Pietists, near Schwartzenau, in Germany. While they yet belonged among the Pietists, in the year 1708, there was a society at the place just mentioned, consisting of eight persons, whose spiritual leader was Alexander Mack, a miller of Schriesheim. The members of this society, having been re-baptized by their leader, because they considered their infant baptism as unavailing, first assumed the name of Tæuffer or Baptists. From Schwartzenau their notions of baptism spread among the Pietists, in various directions. A branch of them having left their native homes, because their enthusiastic practices were not every where tolerated, settled in Creyfeld, where they formed a considerable society. Of this Creyfeld society, a company came with Peter Becker to

Pennsylvania, in the year 1719. They settled in Germantown, where their numbers soon increased. They gained accessions also along the Wissahiccon and in Lancaster County. In 1723, those that lived in Germantown and along the Wissahiccon, formed themselves into a united community, and chose Peter Becker for their official baptizer. He, with some others, visited the scattered brethren in Lancaster county, in November, 1724, and collected and formed them into a distinct society, near the Pecquea creek.

In this last mentioned society the practice of keeping the Sabbath, or Saturday, the last day of the week, as a day of solemn rest, was introduced by three of its members, much to the displeasure of the older brethren, who called it a Jewish practice, and declared that whoever kept the Sabbath as a legal institution, was bound to observe the whole law, for that he who had imposed the observance of the Sabbath, had equally ordained the practice of circumcision. Among the people near the Pecquea was Conrad Beissel, who in time became their minister or instructor. In 1728, this Beissel wrote a sort of a treatise in favour of the Sabbath, or seventh day observance, and from that time onward, says the Chronicon, it was kept alike by all the Society.

From time to time schisms occurred among the Lancaster county Tunkers, and another distinct society was formed, near the Conestogoe, in opposition to Beissel. The two societies now lived in open dissention. In relation to this, both the Chro-

nicon and Sangmeister, with a very serious air, tell the following anecdote. Joel, one of Beissel's brethren, went to the meeting of the Conestogoe people, and solemnly stepped in among them, and, addressing the leader of the congregation, said, "To thee, J. H. these words, through me, from the "Lord. Thus saith the Lord, from this day forth "thou shalt no longer go out to preach to others. "And on this day it shall appear whether *we* or *you* "are the Congregation of the Lord. If God shall "on this day do a miracle upon my person; if here "in your presence and before your eyes I fall "down like a dead man, and if by your prayers "I be made to rise up again to life, then God hath "*not* sent me to you, and *you* are God's people. "But if *I do not* fall down like a dead man, but go "fresh and hearty out of that door, then shall ye "know that *God hath indeed* sent me, and that *ye* "*are not* the people of the Lord. A week ago I "told you in your meeting that there was a wolf "among you; here, (taking one by the arm,) here is "the wolf." Upon this, Joel, turning his back upon them, went out of the door, fresh and hearty. Our authors make no further observation, taking it probably for granted, that none was needed, and that this might stand for an indubitable proof that Joel was the man and his people the people.

In the year 1728 it was, that Beissel's society entirely separated themselves from all fellowship with the rest of the Tunkers, and Beissel re-baptized them, or, as Lamech and Agrippa express it, they gave to the old Baptists their baptism back

again. Beissel himself does not seem to have been re-baptized on this occasion. He was satisfied with the baptism which Becker, though considered his inferior, had formerly given to him.

Not very long after this transaction, Beissel, having appointed several elders over his people, withdrew from all personal intercourse with them, and retired to live a solitary life in a cottage that had been built for a similar purpose, and occupied and abandoned by a brother, Elimelech. It stood near the place where the convent was afterwards built. Here he seemed to intend to remain altogether alone, and secluded from the world of mankind; but still he had some secret mode of communication with his former brethren. For, hearing that the society had got into discord and strife, he sent them a formal citation to meet at his cottage. It was issued September 4th, 1732. In pursuance of this citation, they actually met; and one of the results of the conference was, that some of the single brethren agreed to erect a second cottage near that occupied by Beissel. Beside this, a house was also built for females; and in May, 1733, two single women retired into it. In 1734, a third house for male brethren was built and occupied by two brothers, Onesimus and Jotham, whose family name was Eckerlin. Soon after they all united in the building of a bakehouse, and a storehouse for the poor. And now the whole together was called the Camp.*

* Germ. das Lager.

About this time there was what the Tunkers called a *Revival* in Falconer Swamp, in consequence of which many families took up land round about the Camp, and moved upon it, calling their settlements Massa, Zohar, Hebron and Cades. Another revival, on the banks of the Schuylkill, drove many more into the neighbourhood; by it, the sister establishment obtained considerable accession; only two, however, Drusilla and Basilla, remained steadfast. A further revival in Tolpehoccon, 1735, brought many to the society. Hereupon they built a meeting house, with rooms attached to it for the holding of love feasts, and called it Kedar. About the same time, a revival in Germantown sent additional brothers and sisters to the Camp.

Now, for a considerable length of time they held midnight meetings, for the purpose of awaiting the coming of Judgment.

Not long after the building of Kedar, a widower, Sigmund Lambert, having joined the camp, built, out of his own means, an addition to the meeting house, and a dwelling house for Beissel. Another gave all his property to the society; and now Kedar was transformed into a *sister-convent*, and a new meeting house erected. Soon after, 1738, a large house for the brethren was built, to which was attached the title of Zion, while the whole camp together obtained, from this time, the name of Ephrata.

Now what originally had been a solitary life was changed into that of conventual fellowship, and

Zion was formally called a Kloster or Convent, and put under monastic rules; the brethren agreed to wear garments similar to those of the Capuchins; Onesimus was appointed Prior, and Conrad Beissel acquired the title of Father. Many, however, were anxious to retain their solitary mode of living. This, together with the resolution to elevate Beissel to the title of Father, produced considerable dissention. Among the opponents of these measures was one Hildebrand, who, according to Sangmeister, long continued unfriendly to Beissel. Sangmeister himself was at that time one of them, and after some time left the society and retired to a solitary life in Virginia. Some years afterwards, however, he returned, and lived and died in a cottage near to Zion. His book, the title of which is prefixed to this statement, was written partly at Ephrata and partly in Virginia. It is much tainted with bitterness, and undertakes to cast a dark shade upon the whole establishment and a considerable part of its members, but particularly upon Beissel its ruler, or Father Friedsam.*

*A lady, who formerly lived in the neighbourhood of Ephrata, has related to me the following anecdote:—"Before "Ezechiel, (Sangmeister,) died, he requested to be buried "without service or other ceremonials. Miller, however, the "successor of Beissel, notwithstanding this request, went to "the grave at the time of interment, and could not refrain "from making a funeral oration. The conclusion of this ora-"tion, was: 'Yes, my brethren, brother Ezechiel did not do "as he ought to have done. He loved the maid better than "the wife. He once altogether forsook the wife. But it

Little can be gathered from the several works in hand, with regard to the precise religious tenets of this fraternity. In general, their religion is mysticism. Union in love, with God and Christ, is to them the end of a Christian's life and labours, struggles and sufferings; and self-denial, and withdrawing from the world, not a mere ascetic exercise, but essential to that mystical union which must be formed with the Redeemer. Baptism they do not consider as an act of initiation into the fellowship with Christ and the believers, but as a rite similar to that of purification in the Mosaic law, which may be repeated from time to time, when the believer has become again defiled by the world, and would again renew his union with Christ. With many of the single brethren and sisters, this mystical idea of union was evidently used to gratify one of the strongest natural affections of the human heart. The Redeemer was their bridegroom or bride; he was espoused to them in love; he was the little infant they carried *under their hearts*, the dear little lamb they dandled on their laps.

" was not to continue so; back again he had to come. Yet " what should he do? he despises the wife, goes and lives " altogether with the maid; and in her lap he dies.' With " this discourse many of the brethren were gratified. They " knew what Miller meant. The wife was the convent, the " maid the cottage. But the neighbours, who out of real re- " spect had attended Ezechiel's funeral, and were not fami- " liar with such high mystical figures, were much offended; " for Ezechiel enjoyed the best possible reputation for piety " and holiness of demeanour."

This sweet, fond, dalliance, was, at least, much more found among the single Tunkers, than among those, whose sexual and parental affections were consecrated in a conjugal life. The powers of human nature would evince their authority. According to Sangmeister, males and females of weaker bodily constitution and lesser vigour of will, sank under the unceasing struggle; or concealing the ruling passion, it gnawed upon their vitals, till death relieved them of their sorrow: when the particular object of their affection was the last in their minds, the dear long cherished name the last they uttered.

Some of their writers of spiritual songs, seem to have possessed well regulated minds, and a portion of poetic spirit. The mysticism of these created an imaginary world instead of that which they had abandoned. Here they deemed their affections permitted to roam unchecked. The figure or image dearest to passion was enthroned in their hearts. That was their God, their Lord, their dear Redeemer. But the effusions of others were a perfect jargon of unfitting, absurd, and inconsistent connexions; turtledoves and lambs in conjugal union, cultivated fields upon which are sown pearls and wine and music, burning hearts united in keeping silence and singing at the same time songs of joy.

Beissel appears to me to have been a man possessed of a considerable degree of the spirit of rule, his mind bent from the beginning upon the acquire-

ment of authority, power, and ascendency. Various arts were resorted to for the purpose of carrying his point. He separated his most ardent friends and adherents from the rest who were less attached to him; he gave them distinguishing offices; those that were most enthusiastically attached were constituted rulers; he withdrew to be sought after; his language was cloudy and mysterious; he was constantly enveloped in mystery; his words were inspiration.

Beissel, good or bad, lived and died the master spirit of the brotherhood. With him it sank into decay; and when he died its spirit was almost gone. A small portion only of it remained with Miller, his successor. But when Miller was no more, the whole establishment lost its life and almost its existence.

CHRISTIAN ENDRESS.

HISTORY

OF THE

INTRODUCTION

OF

ANTHRACITE COAL

INTO

PHILADELPHIA.

By ERSKINE HAZARD, ESQ.

Communicated to the Society, Feb. 5th, 1827;

AND

A LETTER

FROM

JESSE FELL, ESQ.

OF

WILKSBARRE,

ON

THE DISCOVERY AND FIRST USE

OF

ANTHRACITE

IN THE

VALLEY OF WYOMING.

Read at a meeting of the Council, Feb. 21st. 1827.

HISTORY, &c.

THE coal on the Lehigh was accidentally discovered in the year 1791 by a hunter, who observed it adhering to the roots of a tree which had been blown down.

In 1792 a company was formed, called the Lehigh Coal Mine Company, who took up a large body of land contiguous to that on which the coal had been found. They opened the mine where it is at present worked, made a very rough road from the river to the mine, and attempted to bring the coal in arks to the city, in which they but partially succeeded in consequence of the difficulties of the navigation. A small quantity of coal, however, reached the city, but the want of knowledge of the proper fixtures for its use, together with the difficulties of the navigation, caused the company to abandon their undertaking. Some of this coal, it is said, was tried under the boiler of the engine at the Centre Square, but only served *to put the fire out*, and the remainder was broken up and spread on the walks in place of gravel!

The legislature were early aware of the importance of the navigation of the Lehigh, and in 1771, passed a law for its improvement. Subsequent laws for the same object were enacted in 1791, 1794, 1798, 1810, 1814, and 1816. A company was

formed under one of them, which expended upwards of thirty thousand dollars in clearing out channels; one of which they attempted to make through the ledges of slate which extend across the river, about seven miles above Allentown: but they found the slate too hard to pick, and too shelly to blow; and at length considered it an insuperable obstacle to the completion of the work, and relinquished it.

The Coal Mine Company in the meanwhile, anxious to have their property brought into notice, gave leases of their mines to different individuals in succession, for periods of twenty-one, fourteen, and ten years, adding to the last the privilege of taking timber from their lands for the purpose of floating the coal to market. Messrs. Cist, Miner and Robinson, who had the last lease, started several arks, only three of which reached the city, and they abandoned their business at the close of the war, 1815.

In 1812, Messrs. White and Hazard, who were then manufacturing wire at the Falls of Schuylkill, induced a number of individuals to associate and apply to the legislature for a law for the improvement of the river Schuylkill. The coal which was said to be on the head waters of that river, was held up as an inducement to the legislature to make the grant, when the senator from Schuylkill county asserted that there was no coal there—that there was a kind of "black stone" that was "called" coal, but that it would not burn!

Their application to the legislature as individuals

having failed, they called a meeting of those interested in that navigation, at the tavern, corner of Fifth and Race streets, where Mr. White opened the business of the meeting by proposing the application to the legislature for a charter for a company to improve the Schuylkill for a slack-water navigation by dams and locks. This was the commencement of the present Schuylkill Navigation Company, which was incorporated in 1815. But those who first proposed the plan to the public, were considered by the first subscribers to the stock, to be too much interested at the Falls of Schuylkill to be entrusted with a share in the management of the company.

During the war, Virginia coal became very scarce, and Messrs. White and Hazard having been told by Mr. Joshua Malin, that he had succeeded in making use of Lehigh coal in his rolling mill, procured a cart-load of it, which cost them one dollar per bushel. This quantity was entirely wasted without getting up the requisite heat. Another cart-load was however obtained, and a whole night spent in endeavouring to make a fire in the furnace, when the hands shut the furnace door and left the mill in despair. Fortunately one of them left his jacket in the mill, and returning for it in about half an hour, noticed that the door was red hot, and upon opening it, was surprised at finding the whole furnace at a glowing white heat. The other hands were summoned, and four separate parcels of iron were heated and rolled by the same fire, before it required re-

newing. The furnace was then replenished, and as *letting it alone* had succeeded so well, it was concluded to try it again, and the experiment was repeated with the same result.

From that time they continued the use of anthracite coal, which they received from Schuylkill county in wagons, and occasionally in flats by the freshets, and from the Lehigh, in one of Messrs. Miner & Co.'s arks. In November, 1817, they proposed purchasing a mine in Schuylkill County, to supply themselves and others with coal, and applied to the president of the Schuylkill Navigation Company, to know what toll would be charged on coal, when the navigation was completed; his reply was, "that the law had fixed the toll, and the "managers would not feel authorized to change "it." It was alleged that the law allowed more toll than the coal would be worth when brought down, and if adhered to, would prevent any being brought, as the Lehigh could afford a cheaper supply. *"That can't be helped," was the reply.*

In January, 1818, Messrs. White and Hazard, joined by Mr. Hauto, obtained the control of the Lehigh Coal Mine Company's lands. In the succeeding March, a law was obtained, granting to them, *as individuals*, the same powers and privileges on the Lehigh as are usually granted to navigation companies, with only the additional privilege of trying the experiment of a navigation by means of artificial freshets.

In July following, the Lehigh Navigation Com-

pany, and in October, the Lehigh Coal Company were formed, which together were the foundation of the present Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, as will appear by the preamble to their Charter, passed in 1822. The improvement of the Lehigh was commenced in August, 1818. In 1820, only two years from the commencement, coal was sent to Philadelphia, by the artificial navigation, and sold at $8 40 per ton, delivered, about half the price it had ever been offered for previously, and about as much as the Schuylkill Company were, at that time, authorized to demand for toll. In 1821 and 1822, the quantities were so much increased, that the public became secure of a supply, and its own good qualities, together with its reasonable price, gave it an extensive and rapidly increasing demand. At this period, anthracite coal may be said to be permanently introduced into use. In 1824, the Lehigh Company reduced the price of coal to $7, at which it has continued. In 1825, coal first came to Philadelphia by the improved navigation of the Schuylkill—the quantity was 5378 tons. In 1826, 16,265 tons of coal were transported on the Schuylkill, and 31,280 tons on the Lehigh. And now, January, 1827, anthracite coal promises to become the largest and most profitable staple of Pennsylvania; and the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, who alone are entitled to the credit of rendering it such, together with the legislature who incorporated them, deserve to be handed down to posterity, with the grateful remembrance

of a community, who have received at their hands the means of maintaining a lucrative and extensive commerce with all the other States of the Union. This certainly will not be denied them, when it is recollected that they have effected their object at their own expense and risk, with no pecuniary aid from the government, and with the knowledge, that seven previous laws, some of them including large grants of money, had been passed, and three previous companies had been formed, which all failed to produce the desired effect.

NOTE.—The first dam across the Schuylkill was built in 1816, at the falls, four miles from the city, by Messrs. White and Gillingham, under a contract with the company. This improvement has since been flooded by the dam at Fairmount.

Wilksbarré, December 1st, 1826.

ESTEEMED COUSIN,

When I saw thee last, I believe I promised to write to thee and give thee some data about the first discovery and use of the stone-coal, in our valley. (I call it stone-coal, because every body knows what is meant by that name.)

The late Judge Gore, in his lifetime, informed me, that he and his brother, the late Captain Daniel Gore, (both being blacksmiths,) were the first that discovered and used this coal in their blacksmith's fires, and found it to answer their purpose well. This was before the revolutionary war, and, as near

as I can collect information, about the year 1770, or 1771, and it has been in use ever since, by the blacksmiths of the place.

In the year 1788, I used it in nailery, and found it to be profitable in that business. The nails made with it, would neat the weight of the rods, and frequently a balance over. But it was the opinion of those that worked it in their furnaces, that it would not do for fuel, because when a small parcel was left on their fires and not blown, it would go out. Notwithstanding this opinion prevailed, I had, for some time, entertained the idea that if a sufficient body of it was ignited, it would burn. Accordingly, in the month of February, 1808, I procured a grate, made of small iron rods, ten inches in depth and ten inches in height, and set it up in my common-room fireplace, and on first lighting it found it to burn excellently well. This was the first successful attempt to burn *our* stone-coal in a grate, so far as my knowledge extends. On its being put in operation, my neighbours flocked to see the novelty; but many would not believe the fact until convinced by ocular demonstration. Such was the effect of this pleasing discovery, that in a few days there were a number of grates put in operation. This brought the stone-coal into popular notice. I need not mention the many uses to which it may be applied, as you, who are in the coal concern, have the means of knowing its value.

I find we have various qualities of coal, but our best specimens are said to be superior to any yet

known, and we have it in sufficient quantity to supply the world. Here it is—but the best way of getting it to market is yet to be discovered.

The market at present is down the Susquehannah River, but great improvements must be made in the river ere it can be a safe and sure conveyance. Looking forward, Wilkesbarré is but about eleven miles from Lehigh below the junction of all the creeks you pass, from the Pokono to Wilkesbarré mountain. This, I suppose, is known, and I believe the principal transport of our coal will, in time, pass that way and down the Lehigh; but this I do not expect to live to see.

I am, thy affectionate cousin,

JESSE FELL.

JONATHAN FELL.

SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY OF BYBERRY,

IN THE

COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA,

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

SOME OF THE FIRST SETTLERS,

AND OTHER

DISTINGUISHED INHABITANTS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY

ISAAC COMLY.

Presented to the Council, May 23d, 1827.

SKETCHES, &c.

Byberry Township lies in the north-east end of the county of Philadelphia, distant from the city between thirteen and sixteen miles. It is bounded by the Manor of Mooreland, and the Townships of Lower Dublin, Bensalem, and Southampton. Its length is about five miles, its breadth variable, at most about three miles. It contains five thousand nine hundred and sixty-six acres; one hundred and forty-six dwelling houses, and in 1820, eight hundred and sixty-eight inhabitants. In the census of 1810, the number of inhabitants was stated to be seven hundred and sixty-seven, of whom three hundred and sixty were males, three hundred and seventy-four females, and thirty-three blacks.

We are told that the family of the Waltons, who were among the first settlers, gave it the name of Byberry, in reference to a place of that name where they dwelt in England.

The face of the country possesses an agreeable distribution of inequalities, and there are some fine rising grounds, particularly in the upper section of the Township. Edge hill crosses the northern corner, near to which is the source of Poquesink creek: this stream forms the line between the counties of Philadelphia and Bucks, and empties into the Delaware half a mile below White sheet bay. Poquesink and its western branches, water most of the farms in Byberry.

The geological features of the township are not striking. Dr. Troost in his survey observes, "we are still here in the gneiss formation containing a subsoil of blue loam. The amphibolic rocks project above the ground to the west of Smithfield, and going more north we meet in the northern part of Byberry Township near the commencement of the Poquesink creek, the mica slate."

The soil for cultivation is a sandy loam from six to eight inches deep, lying on a stiff loamy subsoil, of from four to six feet deep.

In the neighbourhood of Townsend's mill, where the Poquesink winds between two stony ridges, there is the singular appearance of two natural abutments of rock opposite each other, as if Nature had intended to lend her aid in the construction of a bridge over the stream. Whether these rocks, so similar in all respects, and the apparent broken ends so nearly corresponding with each other, have ever been one solid body, and separated by some convulsion of nature, or the effect been gradually produced by the constant attrition of the water, we must leave others to conjecture.

About three quarters of a mile further down the creek near the road to Dunk's ferry, a point six or eight perches in breadth appears to have once projected from the western bank, twelve or fifteen perches into the valley. It is supposed that the Poquesink formerly passed round it; but that the current striking directly against its base, the forcible attacks of large freshets at length undermined the hill, and a passage from the creek was opened through it. This aperture is three or four perches in width, and the point of the hill near twenty feet in height, and of the dimensions of half an acre, detached from the adjacent promontory, is left standing in the valley alone.

In a rock on Aaron Walton's land is a representation of

the print of a man's foot. This and a similar appearance in a rock near the mouth of Poquesink, have long been considered as natural curiosities.

It is observable that the water-courses in Byberry are much inclined to the western side of the vallies—that the grounds on this side are most prominent—and generally found to contain the best stone for building. It is rare to find a good quarry on the eastern side of the vallies, or in any of the level lands.

The timber most natural to the soil, is—hickory; black, white, red, and Spanish oak; poplar, chestnut, maple, sassafras, beech, dog-wood, red cedar, gum, persimmon, wild cherry, and in one place, pine.

There are three grist-mills in the township, two saw-mills, several retail stores, and shops for mechanics of different kinds; but no factory, nor tavern. The inhabitants generally are farmers, and a majority are members or professors with the Society of Friends. There are a few Episcopalians, Baptists, and Presbyterians, and some that make little profession with any religious denomination. The Friends' meeting house is near the centre of the township.

Byberry was settled early after the arrival of William Penn, in 1682. When the white people first came here, we are informed they found but few large trees standing, though plenty of saplings and underbrush; and in some places, particularly in Mooreland, the ground was covered with coarse grass that grew as high as a man's head. Indian darts made of flint, have often been found, and sometimes stone axes and other curious implements of Indian manufacture.

A tradition says, that the first persons who settled here were Giles Knight and Josiah Ellis. By the ancient records of the meeting and other documents, it appears, the

following named persons settled in and near Byberry, in 1683–84, and 85. Giles Knight, John Hart, John Carver, Nathaniel Walton, Walter Forrest, Daniel Walton, William Walton, William Hibbs, Henry English, John Gilbert, Thomas Knight, William Nichols, William Rush, Samuel Ellis, Thomas Walton, Richard Collett, and Joseph English. Nearly all of them members of the Society of Friends.

In the 5th mo. 1683, at a Quarterly Meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, "it was then and there agreed and concluded, "that there be established a first day meeting of Friends at "Tookany and Poetquesink, and that these two make one "monthly meeting, men and women, for the ordering of "the affairs of the church." The monthly meeting was accordingly held first at Oxford, then at John Hart's house, and so alternately. The following certificate issued by this body, is preserved for its antiquity.

"*To Friends of y^e^ monthly meeting about the Falls of Delaware in y^e^ county of Bucks.*

"Whereas James Morris and Eliz. Buzby who formerly "belonged to our meeting did in the seventh month appear "at our monthly meeting and declare their intentions of "marriage, and they did produce certificates and testimony "sufficient to satisfy us of their clearness, and after delibe- "ration and enquiry we did permit them to proceed to ac- "complish their marriage. But so y^t^ they have been "from us absent, we are informed y^t^ they belong to your "meeting and now they desired a certificate from us.

"These are to certify that thus far they have proceeded "and we have not any thing against y^m^ to obstruct y^m^ to "your meeting in order to y^e^ accomplishing their marriage, "and we remain your friends and Bretheren. At our "monthly meeting at John Hart's house on Poetquesin

"creek in ye county of Philada. ye 2d of ye 4th mo. "1684.

"John Carver	Walter Forrest
"Giles Knight	Richd Townsend
"John Hart	Willm Preston
"Henry Waddy	Saml Hart
"Saml Ellis	
"Joseph English	Ann Sessions
"Tho: Kitchin	Ann Townsend
"Richd Dungworth	Dorothy Dungworth."

It is probable that Friends about Byberry first held their meetings for worship at John Hart's house,* and afterwards at Giles Knight's;† but on the first of 4th mo. 1685, the monthly meeting "ordered that the meeting "which of late hath been kept at Giles Knight's, be re-"moved to the house of John Hart," and 26th of 11th mo. 1686, the record says, "it was agreed that there be a meet-"ing at the house of Henry English once a month—first "days."

A minute of the monthly meeting, 28th of 5th mo. 1685, says, "Friends did freely accept of ten acres of "land, given by Walter Forrest for a burying ground for "the service of Friends near Poetquesink creek, and it is "left to the trust and care of Joseph Fisher, John Hart, "Samuel Ellis, and Giles Knight, to get the ground sur-"veyed, and a deed of conveyance to be made from Wal-"ter Forrest to themselves, for the only use and behoof of "Friends forever, and that from henceforth it shall be made "use of for the service aforesaid." No further account appears respecting this business. Whether Friends ever occupied said ground is uncertain, and it is not now known

* Where Francis Ingraham, Jun. now lives.
† Where David Comfort lives.

where it was to be located. Walter Forrest's last will is dated "ye 18th of ye 1st month 1691–2." In it, he bequeaths a mill and lands in Byberry, one half to his wife, and the other half to three persons of the name of Albertson. It is probable his decease took place soon after the date of his will.

We are told that before any burial ground was provided by Friends, Giles Knight lost two of his children, and they were interred on his own land, near Poquesink, not far from where Knight's mill-dam now is. Soon after, the records mention "burials at John Hart's, on the creek "Poequesy." This ground appears to have been used by Friends as a place of interment from 1683 to the Keithian separation. Aurelia Rush, wife of William, was buried there in 1683; Joseph English in 1686; and William Rush* in 1688. After the separation, it was used by the Keithians and others. This ancient cemetery, containing one acre, was bequeathed in 1786 by one of John Hart's heirs, to the township of Byberry, for a burying place for the inhabitants for ever.

In temporal concerns, the first settlers had much difficulty

* William Rush and his wife Aurelia Rush, were ancestors of Dr. Rush. John Rush, the father of William, commanded a troop of horse in Cromwell's army. After the war, he married Susannah Lucas at Hartan in Oxfordshire, June 8th, 1648. He embraced the principles of the Quakers in 1660, and came to Pennsylvania in 1683, with seven children and several grandchildren, and settled in Byberry, thirteen miles from Philadelphia. In 1691 he and his whole family became Keithians, and in 1697 most of them became Baptists. He died in 1699. His sword is in the possession of James Rush, M. D. as is also his watch. He had issue seven sons and three daughters, as appears from his own handwriting in his family Bible, now in the possession of the family. The Rush family owned a farm, (now Jona. Parry's,) on the west branch of Poquesink, in the lower end of Byberry. Dr. Rush, and his brother Judge Rush, were born at this place. In Hart's burying ground is a tomb stone, with an inscription in memory of James Rush, who died March 26, 1726–7, aged forty-eight years and ten months.

to encounter, particularly in regard to a supply of provisions. The Indians near them treated them with kindness: they occasionally furnished such eatables as they could spare, and instructed the new comers to raise corn, beans, and pumpkins. Giles Knight and Josiah Ellis, once went five miles to procure beans of the Indians, and obtained half a bushel. Bread and meat were very scarce. Some horses, cows, sheep, and hogs had been brought into the province, but the settlers were not generally able to obtain a sufficient stock for several years. When they travelled, they had to go on foot; and as to meat, very little could be had, except a precarious supply of venison or bear meat, which with wild pigeons, fish, and beans, pumpkins or boiled corn, were thought good enough for a feast. The first wheat sowed in these parts, was brought from near Old Chester by two men on their shoulders—each carried about half a bushel. It is said one of these persons was John Carver: his wife, child, and a small boy were left at home, upon what he thought a sufficient supply of provision for their support till his return; but some unforeseen hindrances kept him longer on the journey than was expected, and unfortunately the only cow they had, and upon whose milk they made much calculation for sustenance, got into the swamp and died. The poor woman by this accident was reduced to great difficulty, and concluded she must apply to some Indians not far distant, for assistance; she accordingly took the children, and went to their settlement. The Indians treated her with much kindness, furnished her and the children with victuals, and taking off the little boy's trowsers, they filled them with corn for her to carry home for their further supply.

The dwelling houses first erected were small, rough, log buildings, and generally situated convenient to a spring of water. Giles Knight dwelt about six weeks by the side of an old log, near the banks of Poquesink. The Indians then

instructed him in the erection of a wigwam, in which he resided till he raised a small log house, about half a mile south-east of the present meeting house. William Nichols was so poor, that in 1684 the meeting at Poetquesink "allowed him four shillings per week," on account of his "being in penury."

Great hardships were endured by the settlers for several years; but they were industrious and economical, and kind and obliging one to another. Their situation gradually improved, and brighter prospects were continually opening. Harmony prevailed among them, and religious unity was maintained in general, till 1691, when the disturbances raised by George Keith reached them. The controversy was carried on so sharply amongst the members of the meeting of Poetquesink, that a division took place. John Hart, Nathaniel Walton, and divers others in the southern part of the neighbourhood, adopted the Keithian profession and creed, and kept possession of the meeting.* John Carver, Giles Knight, Daniel Walton, Henry English, and some others, whose residence was nearer the centre of Byberry, withdrew from the Keithians, and held their meetings at Henry English's house, which stood in Walmsley old orchard, near half a mile south-east of the present meeting house.

The meeting of the Keithians soon vanished. Some of them turned Episcopalians, and are said to have been concerned in founding All Saints church in Lower Dublin. Others attached themselves to a Keithian meeting in Southampton. Most of these afterwards turned Baptists. John Hart was one of them. Edwards, in his Materials towards a History of the Baptists, gives the following sketch of his life and character:—

* It is said Friends had a meeting house near John Hart's; but of this the records give no account.

"John Hart was born Nov. 16, 1651, at Whitney, in Ox-
"fordshire, came to this country early, and preached among
"the Quakers to 1691, at which time he separated with
"George Keith, and was one of the forty-eight who signed
"the reasons of that separation. From the separation in 1691
"he preached to a society of Keithians meeting at the
"house of John Swift in Southampton, Bucks county.
"About 1697, he, and some of the society, embraced the
"principles of the Baptists. The ordinance was adminis-
"tered to them by one Thomas Rutter. In 1702, he and
"the society joined Pennepac, where he was assistant mi-
"nister. Hart was not ordained; but was reckoned a good
"preacher and a most pious Christian. The last words he
"uttered were, 'now I know to a demonstration that Christ
"died to save me.' His wife's name was Susanna Rush, by
"whom he had children, John, Joseph, Thomas, Josiah,
"and Mary. These formed alliances with the Crispin,
"Miles, Paulin, and Dungan families, and have raised him
"upwards of twenty grandchildren"

Nathaniel Walton married Martha Bownel of Philadelphia, in 1685, and had several children. In a letter which he wrote to his brother William, dated, "Bibury ye 7th of "October 1713," he says he paid for William's passage to this country, £5 sterling; that he laboured hard for this money in Old England at a groat a day; that the principal and compound interest which he had forborne thirty years and upwards, had almost come to £200 old currency; that William had got him nothing, but might see he had made a man of him to that very day; and that he most certainly expected him to pay some way or other to his content; not, he adds, because he could not do without it, for, he blessed God, he had plenty of every thing, but because it was his due, and William was able to pay it.

Edwards, in his account of the Keithian Quakers, says, "They soon declined. Their head deserted them and went

"over to the Episcopalians. Some followed him thither. "Some returned to the Penn Quakers, and some went to "other societies. Nevertheless, many persisted in the se- "paration. These by resigning themselves to the guidance "of Scripture, began to find water in the commission, Matt. "28—19. Bread and wine in the command, Matt. 26— "26, 30. Community of goods, love feast, kiss of charity, "right hand of fellowship, anointing the sick for recovery, "and washing the disciples feet, in other texts—Acts 2— "41, 47. Jude 12. Rom. 16—16. Gal. 2—9. Joh. 13. Jam. "5—14, 16."

Again, the same author tells us, "The Keithian Quakers "ended in a kind of transformation into Keithian Baptists. "They were called Quaker Baptists, because they still re- "tained the language, dress and manners of the Quakers. "The Keithian or Quaker Baptists, ended in another kind of "transformation into Seventh day Baptists, though some "went among the First day Baptists and other societies. "However, these were the beginning of the Sabbatarians in "this province."

The meeting of Friends at Byberry having survived the wreck of discord and controversy, the 8d of 1st mo. 1694, Henry English gave one acre of ground for its use, to John Carver and Daniel Walton as trustees. The deed specifies that the said one acre is for "the use of the people of God "called Quakers, who are, or shall be and continue in unity "and religious fellowship with Friends of truth, and shall "belong unto the monthly meeting of the said people, for "whose use the said piece of ground is intended to be em- "ployed as a burying place, and to no other use or service "whatsoever, provided always, and it is the true intent and "meaning of the parties hereunto, that no person or per- "sons who shall be declared by the members of the month- "ly or quarterly meeting whereunto he or they shall be- "long, to be out of unity with them, shall have any righ'

"or interest in the said piece of ground hereby granted, "while he or they shall remain out of unity and church "fellowship with those people to whom he or they did so "belong unto."

Shortly after this, a log building was erected on the lot for a meeting-house, and a burying ground was enclosed. The meeting-house stood in the northern quarter of the present grave-yard. In 1714, Friends erected, a few feet further eastward, a commodious stone meeting-house, about thirty by fifty feet, with galleries above stairs. For the completion of this building they borrowed £ 50 of James Kooper on interest, which was paid off by the assistance of the monthly meeting in 1723.

The number of Friends in the neighbourhood gradually increased. About 1690, John Brock settled near Smithfield. In 1697, Henry Comly purchased the manor house and a part of Moore's tract in Mooreland, and about the same time we find John Dunkin, William Beale, and Abel Hinkson settled in the adjoining part of Bensalem. Soon after, Thomas Groom settled in the upper end of the township, and Everard Bolton in Southampton. About 1713, Thomas Walmsley settled near the middle of Byberry, and Samuel Scott in Bensalem. The monthly meeting was held for some years alternately at Byberry, Oxford, and Cheltenham. In 1708 it was held at Abington,* and finally settled there. Byberry continued attached to it till 1782.

27 of 4 mo. 1692, The records mention that there was read in the meeting "a paper of condemnation given forth "by a meeting of public friends at Philadelphia, against "George Keith and his separate company." In the latter end of the same year, they notice the reception and reading of three other papers on the same subject—from Bridge-

* Abington meeting was originally held in the old brick house, now John Livezey's, in Lower Dublin.

town six weeks meeting in Barbadoes, the yearly meeting at Tredaven in Maryland, and William Richardson, of West River. Some years after a few individuals are noticed, who returned to the society, after having "gone out "in the separation with George Keith."

26 of 10 mo. 1698. The records say "there hath been a "complaint against Wm. Hibbs, concerning his disorderly "behaviour in keeping on his hat when William Walton "was at prayer in their meeting." At the next monthly meeting, it is said, "Wm. Hibbs being sorry for his disor- "derly behaviour, promiseth to do so no more."

27 of 6 mo. 1716. "At this meeting Thomas Walton "appeared, and seemed to be somewhat sorry that he had "indulged his children, and that for the future he hopes to "be more careful, and desires friends to pass it by."

31 of 1 mo. 1718. "Whereas, friends of Byberry have "made complaint that friends children do frequent shoot- "ing matches, being a practice that tends to the corruption "of youth, and being dealt with some about it, viz. John "Brock and his brother Oddy, who have acknowledged "their fault and given the meeting satisfaction, as also for "being in other vain practices."

Very early after the settlement of Byberry meeting, Friends manifested a concern to promote good order, and especially to inculcate the necessity of it amongst their young people. In 2nd mo. 1695, John Carver was "ap- "pointed to take care of the youth, concerning their or- "derly walking as becomes the truth they make profession "of;" and in 12th mo. same year, John Carver and John Brock were "appointed to put in practice the counsel of "the yearly meeting, to admonish those that profess God's "truth and do not walk answerable thereto." This appears to have been the origin of the appointment of overseers Those who were chosen to attend to this service in succession from this time to 1740, were John Brock, Abel Hink

son, William Beale, Thomas Groom, John Carver, Everard Bolton, John Dunkin, Henry Comly, John Carver 2d. Thomas Knight, son of Giles, Edmond Dunkin, Thomas Walton, William Dunkin, George James, Jonathan Knight, Joseph Gilbert, Evan Thomas.

Giles Knight, the patriarch of the Knight family in this neighbourhood, was from Gloucestershire, and came with his wife Mary and son Joseph, in company with William Penn, in 1682. On the passage, Mary was extremely sick, so that her survival to the end of the voyage was very doubtful. On their arrival up the Delaware, she was carried ashore in a blanket and laid on the bank: she then observed that she had been fully persuaded in her mind she should not die till she saw America; but now she had landed here, she could not tell how it would go with her. She recovered, and afterwards had twelve children. Giles was one of the heads of Byberry meeting. He died in 1726, in his seventy-fourth year, and Mary in 1732, in her seventy-seventh year.

The following certificate for Giles Knight to go to England, furnishes some idea of his circumstances and character.

"To our well beloved friends and Bretheren in the truth, "at Nailsworte in Glosester shier, or elsewhere, we send "Greetinge:

"Signifieing that our Ancient friend Giles Knight hauing "some occasion to see his natiue Cuntrey, and his outward "businese requireing his personall appearance, doth induce "him as well as affection to undertake his vyage to see his "old friends, now hauing made aplication to our Mo. met-"ting in order to have a certificate, and persons apointed to "make Enquiry how he leaues his family, And withall if "the Ship could not stay vntill our next monthly meetting "he mought have a Certificate sighn'd by the perticulare "meetg where he belongs: to witt, Bibery.

"These may Certifie that Enquiry being made, And noe

"objection found, wee recomend him as An Elder and one "well Esteemed by vs for many yeares, hauing Left his "family with a great deal of Loue; he has had that great "comfort in haue sober and well Inclined Children; And "the Lord has blest him with outward substance, which we "hope may be well disposed to his hopeful ofspring. We "hartily wish the Lord may spare his life to see his friends "and family agayne, hauing left vs in unity and Loue. "We wish and pray for his preservation in the truth with "all the faythful throughout the wholle world. We salute "you and bid you farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ.

"Sighned at Bibery y^e^ 8th 7 mo. 1717 by order of Ab- "ington mo. mett'g.

"James Cooper	William Walton
"Henry Comly	Tho. Walton
"James Dunkan	Thomas Knight
"John Carver	Henry English
"James Carver	George James
"Edmund Dunkan	Everard Bolton
"John Brock	Alexander Mode
"Joseph Gilbert	Thomas Martin"
"Thomas Knight	
"Daniel Knight	
"Jonathan Knight	

William Walton was the youngest of four brothers, who settled in and near Byberry. He married Sarah Howell, in 1689, and had ten children, viz. Rachel, Isaac, Jeremiah, Jacob, Sarah, William, Abel, Job, Hannah, and Mary. He was a long time at the head of Byberry meeting, being esteemed as a valuable minister of the Gospel, for upwards of forty years. In 1721, accompanied by Richard Buzby, he performed a "visit in the service of "truth, in Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina," and produced on his return "several certificates signifying their, "(friends,) great satisfaction and unity in their visit of

"love." In 1723, in company with Henry Comly, he made a family visit to the members of Byberry meeting. He died the 9th of 12th mo. 1736-7.

John Carver, from Hertfordshire, maltster, and Mary his wife, came over with William Penn, in 1682. Their daughter Mary, who married Isaac Knight, of Abington, is stated to have been "one of the first children born of "English parents in Pennsylvania." Her birth is dated 28 of 8 mo. 1682, which is four days after Penn's landing at Chester. In a printed memorial concerning her, it is said, "she was born in or near Philadelphia." John and Mary Carver had four other children, John, Ann, James, and Richard. John possessed a large landed property in Byberry, and continued his occupation of maltster after his settlement here. He was a valuable member of religious society. His decease was about 1714. A succession of John Carvers to the sixth, have resided on the same farm to the present time.

Henry English married Hannah West, in 1686; after her decease, he married Hannah Hibbs, widow of William, 1712. Previous to the last marriage, he conveyed to his said intended wife one hundred and twenty-four acres of land, by deed dated 27 of March, 1711, expressing therein that it was "in consideration of the love and good will "and affection which he had and did bear towards his loving "friend Hannah Hibbs." We are told Henry English had no children. He died about 1723.

Thomas Walton settled in Mooreland back of Edge hill. He married Priscilla Hume, of Philadelphia, about 1689, and had several children. He died in 1758, aged near one hundred years!

Daniel Walton married Mary Lamb in 1688—his children were, Nathan, Benjamin, Joshua, Joseph, Daniel, Samuel, and Mary. He died in 1719.

Henry Comly was a native of Bedminster, in Somer-

setshire, and came to Pennsylvania with his parents, Henry and Joan Comly, in 1682. The family first settled in Bucks County, but the father died within two years after. In 1695 Henry married Agnes Heaton. They had eleven children—Alice, Mary, Henry, Robert, John, Joseph, Walter, Agnes, James, Isaac, and Grace. Henry was prosperous in his business, and was considered a useful member of religious society. He died 16th of 1st mo. 1726–7, at the age of fifty-three.

Thomas Walmsley and his brother, Henry Walmsley, were brought to this country by their parents, the one nine, and the other seven years old, with a younger sister, and landed in Burlington, N. Jersey, in 1682. Their father, Thomas Walmsley,* had conceived the idea of possessing

* We happen to have at hand a copy of a certificate from Settle monthly meeting, Yorkshire, (the original of which is now in the possession of Robert Waln, Esq.) which we append, as it confirms the correctness of this part of the "Sketches," and is worthy of preservation for its antiquity. We may further add, on the authority of the above named gentleman, that this party of Friends came to this country in the ship Welcome, with William Penn. The discrepancy in the number of children may perhaps be accounted for by deaths on the passage, as it is known that above thirty persons died of the small-pox during the voyage.

COPY.

"*From Settle Monthly Meeting, the 7th of the 4th month,* 1682.

"These are to certifie all whom it may concern that it is manifested "to us that a necessity is layd upon severall friends belonging this "monthly meeting to remove into Pensilvania and particularly our "dear friend Cuthbert Hayhurst, (his wife and family,) who has been "and is a labourer in the truth for whose wellfare and prosperity we "are unanimously concerned, and also for our friends Thomas Wrights-"worth, and also his wife; Thomas Walmesley, Elizabeth his wife and "six children; Thomas Chroasdale, Agnes his wife and six children; "Thomas Stackhouse, and Marjory his wife; Nicholas Waln, his wife "and three children; Ellen Cowgill and her family; who we believe "are faithfull friends in their measures and single in their intentions

himself of lands and water power in this country, and had purchased a tract of land on the Neshamony creek, in Bucks county, before he left England. He also brought with him such machinery as he thought could not be procured here, to facilitate the erection of mills, &c.; but being seized with the dysentery, died within a fortnight after his arrival, aged forty years, and the young children were consequently left under the care of their mother. Thomas when grown up, first settled in Bucks County, and married Mary Paxson, daughter of Wm. Paxson. He had two sons, Thomas and William, and seven or eight daughters. He possessed a large landed estate, in and near Byberry, and was esteemed as a man of wealth and respectability. He lived to the age of near eighty, and died 1754. Mary died in 1755, aged about seventy nine. Their son Thomas Walmsley, Jun. deceased 30th of 6th mo. 1728—his death was occasioned by being thrown off his horse in descending a short steep hill near Clayton's on the Horsham road. He had been married a short time before, and left no male issue.

In 1728 died Everard Bolton. The monthly meeting

"to remove into y^e^ aforesaid Pensilvania in America, there to inhabit "if y^e^ Lord permit, and we do certifie unity with their said intentions "and desire their prosperity in y^e^ Lord, and hopes what is done by "them will lead to y^e^ advancement of the truth in which we are unanimously concerned with them.

(Sig'd) "Samuel Watson
"George Thomson
"James Connant
"John Moore, Jr.
"George Bland
"John Hall
"Nicholas Frankland
"John Drinder
"Thomas Rudd
"Anthony Drosend
"Ch. Johnson."

records state, he had "been a useful member near forty "years."

Abel Hinkson* died in 11th month, 1747. He was one of the elders of Byberry meeting about twenty-eight years, and appears to have supported the dignified character of a religious, upright, and consistent man. His daughter Susanna married George James in 1715, and had two children, Abel and Elizabeth. Abel James was born at the residence of his grandfather Hinkson on Poquesink creek—he married Thomas Chalkley's daughter, Rebecca, and established himself in an extensive mercantile concern in Philadelphia. He was much esteemed for his benevolence, and distinguished himself as an active member of the "Friendly association for regaining and preserving "peace with the Indians by pacific measures," in 1757.

The children of the first settlers were generally on the stage of active life by the year 1720. They had been educated in habits of industry and rigid economy. But many of them had very little school learning, and some of them did not even know how to read, or write their own names. They were however possessed of health, strength, activity and vigour, and delighted in the exercises of chopping, grubbing, fencing, and farming—shooting wild turkies, and hunting bears and raccoons.

The land was productive, and large crops of wheat were raised. It was gathered with sickles, and commonly put up in stacks till threshed. Barns were not then projected upon the commodious scale of modern times. Such as they had were of simple construction—two log pens of about eight or ten feet high, with a threshing floor between them and thatched roof over the whole. Wagons for hauling were difficult to obtain. Sleds were first used to gather the grain from the fields, and when it was ready for the mar-

* Abel Hinkson resided at the place late Asa Knight's

ket, it was carried to Pennepac mills on horses. A tongue cart was afterwards brought into use, and was considered a great convenience and improvement among the utensils of a farm. Harness for ploughing, hauling, &c. was generally of home manufacture. Collars were made of straw, or the tops of calamus ingeniously plaited, and traces were tow or hemp ropes made sufficiently strong.

The timber by this time was grown to a good size, straight and handsome. We are told that Job Walton split 3600 rails in one week, the logs being cut off for him, and the wood of the best kind for working easy. With such expedition and plenty of timber, the ground that was cleared might soon be sufficiently fenced. It nevertheless was customary to ditch and plant privet hedges for enclosures. These hedges were probably introduced early on account of the scarcity of rail timber. When well grown they made a good barrier against the encroachments of horses, cattle, hogs, and wild beasts. They made a pleasing appearance to the eye when in blossom, and the berries served through the dreary part of the winter for sustenance to multitudes of wild pigeons. These hedges nearly all died a few years before the revolution.

Old people used to tell us that the winters formerly were more remarkable for cold weather, and that there was more snow than of latter time. In the hard winter of 1740, the snow covered the fences; and the crust on the top of it was so firm that it would bear sleds and horses, so that people could travel in any direction, without reference to roads. We are told also of a very moderate winter, the ground being so little frozen that they *could plough all winter with the exception of two or three days.*

The extraordinary wet harvest in 1719 was long remembered. A small quantity of wheat was secured before the rains commenced—much of it was in shock, and was so

damaged by the grain growing, that the shocks were all green with it. Even the heads of the standing wheat grew in like manner.

The earliest records extant of the preparative meeting of Friends at Byberry, bear date 18th of 2d mo. 1721. The first is "a superscription towards maintaining the poor." These records for many years relate chiefly to the pecuniary concerns of the society, being generally what are often termed "superscriptions begon" for relief of the poor, to pay persons for taking care of the meeting-house, and other occasions. The following are noted for their singularity.

6 of 1 mo. 1725. "A superscription to defraying yc "charges of a family of friends taken captive by the Indians "at New England for their redemption."

22 of 3 mo. 1725. "A superscription for to defray the "charges to the healing of a young man that broke his leg "at Hosom."

23 of 4 mo. 1736. "A superscription begon to help "Daniel Penington to make up part of his loss, being "burnt out."

In 1740, William Dunkan was chosen clerk of the meeting; the term *subscription* instead of *superscription* was afterwards used at the head of the collection paper. Dunkan continued clerk till 1751, when he was succeeded by William Walmsley.

The contributors to the collections in 1721, were William Walton, Giles Knight, John Donkon, Abel Hingston, Joseph Gilbert, Henry Comly, Thomas Groom, William Carver, George James, Thomas Knight, John Carver, Thomas Knight, son of G. K., John Worthington, Thomas Walton, Edmond Donkon, Samuel Scott, Thomas Walton, jr. Jonathan Knight, Edward Parry, Ely Welding, Daniel Evans, Jno. Beale, Nathaniel Edgcom, William Carver, jr. James Carver, Stephen Townsend, Nicholas Williams, Ni

cholas Tucker, Henry English, Daniel Walton, Daniel Knight, Ody Brock, Elizabeth Beale, Mary Walton, Margaret Esborn, Hannah Evans.*

About the time of the decease of William Walton, in 1737, another preacher appeared at Byberry meeting, named Samuel Jackson, but we have no definite account of his character, nor what became of him. His name occurs in the collection lists for about two years. Thomas Walton, jr. was also a preacher. It is said he generally spoke when no other preacher was present, and rarely otherwise. He was not a recommended minister, and was disowned in 1764, for want of punctuality in the discharge of his contracts.

In 1743, one William Knight distinguished himself by being "troublesome to Friends in presuming and taking "on himself to preach, &c. and his conversation and beha- "viour being scandalous," and not being "looked upon as "one of the society," Friends thought "proper to show "their dislike and disunion to him and his performances, "as having no unity therewith." A person once pulled him down when preaching—William told him he "need "not have done it, for if it was of Christ, he could not stop "it, and if it was not of Christ, it would die of itself."

In 1750, Walter and Ann Moore came from Fairfax to reside at Byberry; Ann Moore being a minister highly esteemed by Friends, and Walter sometimes attempted to preach. Sarah Bolton, daughter of Isaac Bolton, a member of Byberry meeting, was acknowledged as a minister in 1752, she being then about twenty-three years of age. In 1753, James Thornton settled here, being recommended by certificate from the Falls, "as a Friend whose con- "versation is exemplary, and with whose ministry they

* This list shows the principal members of Byberry Meeting at that time.

"had unity." In the same year, Abraham Griffith came recommended as a minister by certificate from Middletown. About this time, Mary Comly, wife of James Comly, Jacob Scott and Job Walton preached: so that there were then nine public Friends belonging to Byberry meeting, and four of them approved ministers. But shortly after we find this company was dispersed. Job Walton and Walter Moore were disowned for intemperance. Ann Moore removed to Gunpowder, in Maryland, in the latter end of 1753; Jacob Scott to the same place in 1756; Sarah Bolton married and went to Maryland; Mary Comly also removed there with her husband; so that, with the removal of Abraham Griffith, and the decline of Thomas Walton, in a few years no public Friend remained at Byberry, except James Thornton. He stood his ground to the time of his decease, in 1794. He was a native of Stony Stratford, in Buckinghamshire, and was generally esteemed by Friends as a great man and an eminent minister.

Joseph Knight was two years old when his parents, Giles and Mary Knight, brought him to this country. He married in 1717 and settled in Jersey, but returned to Byberry in 1729. He had two children, Giles and Mary. He and his wife Abigail were remarkable for their economical habits. We have frequently heard of a coat the old man wore, which had been so abundantly darned that it was difficult to ascertain its original texture. We have heard of the pound of candles purchased by the old woman for her winter's stock, and having one thrown into the bargain by a generous neighbour, the overplus candle was used all winter, and the pound complete was sold in the spring. Abigail, in the summer time, made cheeses for sale, Joseph took them to Philadelphia: his practice was to go afoot, and carry his shoes till he came near the town; he put them on to go into it, but dispensed with them when he got out again—he thus saved his shoe leather on the

road, and supported his credit in the city. He owned a valuable farm, but does not appear to have accumulated a great deal of money. At the time of his decease, it is said, there was scarcely a whole rail in his fences; they were composed chiefly of broken pieces of old rails, assorted into pannels according to their length. He cut but little live timber; dead trees, broken branches, and old stuff picked up in the woods, furnished his fire-wood. Joseph died in 1762, aged eighty-two years. Abigail died two years after, at about the same age.

It is hoped the reader will have the charity to believe that Joseph Knight was not a miser. His uncommon disposition to suffer nothing to be wasted or lost, was probably the result of his situation in early life, and the circumstances of his education. For he was brought up under all the privations of a new settled country, and very likely was often pinched for the necessary provisions and clothing; and when more prosperous times arrived, his habits had become settled, so that he was content with a little, and travelled comfortably through time in his old way, without hankering after expensive accommodations, or a style of living for which his resources were inadequate. His neighbours respected him as an honest, inoffensive man, and his pilgrimage was closed in peace.

Thomas Knight, brother of Joseph, was a man of more vigorous intellect, not quite so abstemious, but more energetic in regard to business. He married Sarah Clifton, and had one child, that died young. In 1732 he went with Thomas Chalkley to Barbadoes: his residence at that time was on a place in Jersey, owned by Titan Leeds, the almanac maker; he soon after returned to Byberry, where he owned two farms, on which he resided alternately; at each of these places he had a spot selected where he wished to be buried. He died in 1774, aged eighty-eight years and five months.

Daniel Knight, another brother, married Elizabeth Walker in 1719; a few years after, while Daniel was at meeting, Elizabeth left her two young children in the house alone, and hung herself in the stable. As no person had discovered before that she was uneasy with her situation, Daniel felt anxious to know the cause of an act so extraordinary, and for several evenings afterwards he sat alone in the stable where she was found, in hopes that something might present to explain this mystery. At length he said he was satisfied, but never would give any person the least information by what means he became so. In 1728 he married Esther Walton, widow of Joseph Walton, by whom he had six children. He is spoken of as a man of good understanding and sound judgment. He died in 1782, at the age of eighty-five years.

Joseph Gilbert endeavoured to maintain a strict moral discipline in his family; he was rigidly temperate, and bore such a faithful testimony against the slavery of the negroes, that Benjamin Lay could consider him as his intimate friend, and put up at his house when he came to this neighbourhood.* He also protested against the use of spirituous liquors, especially by abstaining altogether from them himself. He diligently attended religious meetings, and encouraged his family to a regular observance of the same practice. Even the workmen he occasionally employed, were left at liberty to go to meeting with him in the middle of the week: but in case they did not incline to do so, he enjoined them to suspend their labours till he returned. His bodily and mental powers retained their strength and vigor to old age. He generally led his reapers in the harvest: he drank nothing but water, and that from the running brook, kept in a jug in the sunshine; but he provided beer

* Benjamin Lay would not shake hands with a person who kept slaves.

for his workmen. He was one of the elders of Byberry meeting. After the decease of Abel Hinkson, he occupied the head seat, and gave the signal for closing the meeting as long as he was able to attend it. He died in 1765, aged near ninety years.

Thomas Townsend and Sarah his wife, with their two sons, Thomas and John, their daughter Sarah, and her husband Silas Titus, from Westbury on Long Island, removed to Pennsylvania. It is said the old man died in Chester county; the remainder of the family came to Byberry and settled, in 1735. Sarah Townsend afterwards married George James. Silas Titus was a valuable member of religious society. He died in 1752, leaving two sons, who both died with the small-pox in 1757.

William Walmsley, son of Thomas Walmsley before mentioned, was born in 1709. At the age of twenty-six, he married Sarah Titus, of Long Island; at the death of his father he became his principal heir; amongst other property were a number of slaves, which he was early in emancipating after the subject of African slavery began to attract the attention of Friends. Some of the older negroes, however, chose to remain in the family, and were provided for. He had three sons, Thomas, Silas, and William, and two daughters. He was a man of strong mind, wrote a good hand, was very correct in his method of transacting business, and supported an excellent character. At the age of thirty-nine he was chosen an elder of Byberry meeting, and was several years one of its overseers. He died in 1773, aged sixty-four years. The following is a copy of a certificate furnished him on account of marriage.

"Ye 24th of 9 mo. 1735. From our monthly meeting "of friends of Abington In Philada County and prouince "of Pensiluaniah vnto ye monthly meeting of friends of "Westbury on Long Island, sendth Greeting.

"Dear ffriends—Whereas ovr friend William Walmsly

"hauing acquainted vs of his Intention of marrig wiht a "ffriend within the verges of your meting and Request a "few Lins of vs By way of Sertificate for that purpose; "and wee hauing it vnder our Consideration, has apointed "friends to make Enquire In his Conuersacion, who re- "ports he was of a sober and orderly Behauer a frequainter "of our meetings and is in good Eunity with vs Is clear "of all women hereaway on the account of marrige as far "as we can find, soe wee Recomend him to your farther "Care In their accomplishing their Intend marrige. And "soe we shall Concluid with the Salutation of Dear Loue "and Bid you ffairwell—Signed In Behalf & by order of "our meeting, By—

"John Cadwallader, Wm. Walton, Evan Lloyd, Morris "Morris, Thos Wood, Peter Shoemaker, John Cadwallader "Junr, Abel Hingston, Rynier Tyson Senr, Tho. Fitzwa- "ter, Jonathan Knight, George James, John Williams, "John Phipps, John Cunrod, Danl Thomas, James Paul, "Alex. Seaton, John Carver."

Notwithstanding there were some individuals of the second generation, who were men of tolerable information, there was much ignorance amongst the common people, and many superstitious notions were prevalent. Marvellous accounts of witchcraft, apparitions, ominous sights, and strange occurrences, were afloat; and often were made the subjects of conversation at the fire side in long winter evenings. At these and other times of leisure, when neighbours met to amuse themselves by social conference, the cider mug went round freely; many a romantic adventure in pursuit of bears, raccoons, turkies, and wild pigeons, was related; and many an interesting detail given of prodigious performances achieved at manual labour.

The people in those times were hearty in the cause of civil liberty, and ready to repel what they considered encroachments on their rights as citizens, by such means as

were consistent with their peaceable principles. They generally attended the elections, which were then held in Philadelphia, for this part of the county. Most of the Byberry people belonged to the assembly party in opposition to the proprietors. At the time of the mob on the election ground, in 1742, some persons from this neighbourhood were driven off, with many others. As they passed along the street, a cooper who had plenty of hoop poles, chopped them into convenient lengths for clubs, with which they armed themselves, and turning upon the mob, beat and bruised them without much mercy. Several of them were knocked down, and some supposed to be killed. One person from Byberry, relinquished his quaker principles on the occasion, and played the cudgel with his utmost dexterity upon the enemy.

The attempt of the mob to disturb the election, and deter the citizens from appearing at the poll, was considered such a flagrant outrage, that the party to whose interest the mob was attached, was unable, for many years afterwards, to raise itself so as to elect its own men to the assembly. At one election, an old man from Byberry was unable, owing to the crowd that was pressing to the poll, to throw in his vote—he came home, and went on purpose again next day.

The township elections were uniformly held at the Friends' school-house, except once, about the year 1760, when an attempt was made by the officers who had the charge of advertising it, to hold it at a sort of tavern, called "The three tuns," at the cross roads a mile above. The people were opposed to the contemplated change, not only because it was deviating from their usual custom, and relinquishing a central situation; but principally from a belief that the said tavern was a disadvantage to the neighbourhood, and an apprehension that holding the township election there, might introduce some into habits of in-

temperance. Accordingly, nobody attended, except two or three individuals, and the attempt was never repeated while the tavern was continued.

From about 1720, we find, divers of the most opulent persons in and near Byberry, and some of them distinguished members of the meeting, were concerned in the purchase of negroes brought to Philadelphia from the coast of Africa. The number of slaves appears to have increased till about 1758, when Friends issued a formidable protest against slavery. From that time the number rapidly decreased. It does not appear that more than two or three members of Byberry meeting persisted in holding slaves, so far as to suffer disownment. The negroes were generally liberated. Care was taken to provide for those set free, to assist them in procuring a livelihood, and to educate their children. By an assessment made in 1781, we find there were at that time but three slaves in Byberry. At present not only has slavery entirely vanished; but the whole race of those formerly held as slaves in this neighbourhood have vanished also.

The negroes were formerly buried in the orchards belonging to their masters. There was also a cemetery for them on lands late of William Walmsley, where it appears thirty or forty were interred. In 1780, Friends purchased a lot of Thomas Townsend, for a negro burying ground, and the practice of burying on private property was discontinued.

During the revolutionary war, the inhabitants of Byberry were often harassed by unprincipled collectors and lawless parties. Being generally Friends, and restrained by their religious principles from active agency in carrying on the sanguinary contest, they suffered the loss of much valuable property: their horses were taken, sometimes even from the plough; their cattle and hogs were driven off; their corn, wheat, and provender, carried away for the use of

the army, and sometimes their persons seized and conducted to head quarters. The 6th of March 1778, a company called "Lacey's men," set fire to some stacks of wheat near the river; burnt a barn at White Sheet Bay, and two others in the lower end of Byberry. They pretended to do it "by the orders of his excellency," to prevent the grain falling into the hands of the enemy. The company appeared disposed to extend their destructive measures further, but they were prevailed on to desist, by a spirited remonstrance made by James Thornton, who threatened to represent their misconduct to General Washington.

Notwithstanding the great losses sustained by many in the time of the war, we are told that only one instance of failure occurred amongst those that suffered. But several persons who acted in the capacity of military collectors, and took advantage of the times in distressing their neighbours unnecessarily, became extremely poor afterwards.

The captivity of Benjamin Gilbert and his family by the Indians on the frontiers in 1780, produced much excitement in Byberry. He was born here in 1711—and this was the principal place of his residence till 1775, when he settled on Mahoning creek in Northampton county, within a few miles of Mauch Chunk. In Byberry several of his children were comfortably settled, and in this place he had many connexions and friends. These were no strangers to the doleful details of Indian cruelty; and the consideration that their near relatives and intimate friends were in all probability doomed to the utmost extremity of human suffering, involved a gloomy and pensive melancholy. After the return of the family in 1782, an account of their many sufferings and difficulties was verbally given by them, which being reduced to writing by William Walton, was published by Jos. Cruikshank in 1784.

Benjamin Gilbert was an author. He published a treatise against war, in answer to Gilbert Tennent, in 1748. He

published two other volumes in 1769 and 1770, containing about two hundred and fifty pages, duodecimo. The first, entitled "A discourse showing that there can be no salvation to that soul who doth not know a being made perfect in this life—Also a discourse on universal redemption, wherein it is proved, (by scripture and reason,) that it is impossible." The second is—"A further discourse upon perfection and universal redemption. Also a discourse upon what is called original sin, showing where original sin is; and a discourse upon election and reprobation, showing wherein they each stand."

We have no account of any person in Byberry holding a commission as justice of the peace till Alexander Edwards: he was a man of good understanding, and acted well in his official capacity. He was an elder of the Baptist society of Pennepac, and died in 1777. His son Doctor Enoch Edwards was designed by his father for a minister, and was accordingly placed under the tuition of Dr. Jones of Pennepac; but having little relish for the profession, he quit the study of divinity, and applied himself to medicine under the instruction of Dr. Rush. After finishing his studies he set up as a practitioner of physic in Byberry. In 1776 he was chosen a member of the famous provincial conference of committees held at Carpenter's hall, whose resolutions paved the way for the introduction of a republican form of government in Pennsylvania. He was afterwards aid to Gen. Sterling: he was accidentally taken by a party of British near Bustleton in 1777, and conducted to Philadelphia, but was soon after released on parole. After the war he was several years in the commission of the peace; in which capacity the acuteness of his judgment and the correctness of his decisions gained universal respect, and his endeavours to preserve order amongst the lower class of people made him a terror to evil doers. He was a member of the convention which

formed the constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, and afterwards presiding judge of the court of Quarter sessions and Common pleas for the county of Philadelphia. In 1792 he sold his farm in Byberry and removed to Frankford. He died there in 1802, aged fifty-two years. Dr. Edwards wrote some valuable observations relating to agriculture, which were published in the American Museum. One of his charges to the grand jury was published in the same work. Both these productions show that he treated his subjects with the dexterity of a skilful master.

Giles Knight, son of Joseph Knight before mentioned, was several years a member of the provincial assembly. He was an able politician of the old school; much respected for the depth and soundness of his judgment; and for the dignified character which he sustained. He died in 1799, at the age of about eighty years.

In 1788 the Hessian fly was first noticed in the wheat at Byberry. The crop being much injured; many farmers afterwards sowed rye; and rye bread, which was little used here before that time, became customary on the tables of some that were considered wealthy. It was not long before a discovery was made that manure was one of the most effectual remedies against the fly: much pains were taken to increase the quantity of it, and it was found advantageous to sow wheat later in the season than had been customary.

Previous to this time, the chief dependance for hay was on "bottom meadows," the borders of which in some instances were rendered very productive by irrigation. About 1791, plaster of Paris was used on Indian corn and found advantageous. It was also tried on the meadows; but had little effect, except on the upland part of them. Red clover was next introduced into the fields, and the plaster was found to have an astonishing effect by increasing the quantity at least double, and in some instances fourfold. The

practice of mowing the uplands became customary—and the old meadows, excepting those that were watered, were pretty much abandoned, or used only for pasture.

The benefits derived from the increase of manure, the use of plaster, the introduction of red clover, timothy, and herd grass, together with various improved methods of farming, and the increasing demand for surplus produce, had a stimulating effect. The quality of the soil improved, wealth seemed accumulating, new houses and barns were erected, and the country assumed the appearance of rapid prosperity.

The cultivation of potatoes as an article of profit, had been little attended to previous to 1790. By manuring the ground well, and paying proper attention to the crop, 200 bushels and often more were produced to the acre. Broom corn began to be cultivated near the same time, the manufacturing of which as a business was first attempted by Benjamin Atkinson, whose success was so encouraging, that many other persons afterwards adopted the same business, and for a number of years past it is computed that fifty or sixty thousand brooms have been turned into the market from Byberry annually.

Until about the year 1791, it had for a number of years been the custom for a part of a tribe of Indians from Edgepeleck in New Jersey, to the number of twelve or fifteen, to visit Byberry every spring, where they were allowed by Thomas Walmsley to occupy one of his orchards. On their arrival they immediately employed themselves in erecting new wigwams, or repairing the old ones, and settled themselves comfortably for the summer. Their habits, although they nearly all spoke broken English, were far from those of civilized life; and they retained much of the indolence for which they are noticed, when settled on the borders of the white population in times of peace. They nevertheless occupied a part of their time in

making wooden trays, barn shovels, bowls, ladles, &c. of white poplar, and in fabricating baskets of different descriptions and sizes. The smaller ones were made with great skill and neatness, and the splits of maple or black ash, of which they were constructed, were dyed with brilliant and lasting colours—purple, red, yellow, &c. were the prevailing colours. These dyes were entirely prepared from the vegetable kingdom. Their natural taste for hunting had not been much diminished by their intercourse with the whites, and much of the time of the men was passed in roaming through the woods, fields, and about the hedges, with their guns, or bows and arrows, in search of game; the latter instrument they used with great dexterity. They were also fond of angling; but not contented with the usual sports of the field and brook, they furthermore made a most destructive and unsportsman-like attack upon the unoffending land-tortoises of the neighbourhood, which, after capture, were, without mercy, uniformly condemned to be burnt alive: their mode of cooking them being to cover them with hot coals and embers; and when sufficiently roasted, they were eaten with a small portion of salt, and were equally delicious to their unsophisticated taste, and as highly valued as a luxury by them as the terrapin is by the more refined epicure of civilized life. It is not many years since the remains of the shells of these tortoises disappeared in the orchard.

This little colony, although without recognised laws or regulations, were not without an implied leader. The eldest appeared to be the patriarch, and old Indian Caleb, as he was familiarly called, stood at the head of the little community, and exercised his influence over it with apparent mildness, but at the same time with much of that dignity, so uniformly observed in the aboriginal sons of our forests.

This company consisted of men, women, and children, and were for several seasons remarkable for their general

sobriety and inoffensive demeanour. But the last summer they quartered here, several of them were intemperate, and when intoxicated were quarrelsome with one another. They frequently cut timber without licence from the owner, under a plea which prevailed amongst them, that when the country was sold to William Penn, the Indians reserved the privilege of cutting basket stuff where they chose.

The township records relating to paupers, commence in 1753. From that time to 1810, about twenty individuals appear to have been supported chiefly at the public expense, viz.:—

A man and his wife in advanced life, nearly fifteen years.

Two old men for a short time.

One idiot from a child to the age of twenty-six.

Seven aged widows—one thirteen, and another twenty-five years—the others a short time.

Five unmarried women, most of them unfortunate characters—one of them has been on the township from 1784, another from 1797.

The annual average of poor tax has been as follows:—

From 1761 to 1779	$ 123 00
1782 to 1799	142 25
1803 to 1809	164 96

Some of the children of the first settlers at Byberry, as we have already observed, had little opportunity of learning to read, write, or cipher. But it is probable that endeavours were used, as early as circumstances admitted, to support a school. A log building was erected for the purpose, near the meeting-house, and a school was generally kept in it till about 1772, when it was pulled down. The school was continued in one end of the meeting-house till 1789. At this time a stone building was erected for its accommodation. The teachers, or such of whom we have an account, were—

Richard Brockden	1711
William Davis	1717
John Watmore	about 1730
Roger Bragg	1736
Josiah Ellis	
John Pear	1748
Walter Moore	1750 to 1753
Thomas Horner	
Patrick Kelly	
Joseph Walton	15 years.
Isaac Carver	1771
Benjamin Gilbert, Jun.	1772
John Pear again	1773
Mahlon Carver	
Thomas Marshall	1776
Benjamin Kite	1776 to 1784
Christopher Smith	1784 to 1789
Watson Atkinson	1789 to 1794
John Comly	1794 to 1801
Thomas Walton	1801 to 1803
John Comly again	1803 to 1804
Ethan Comly	1804
Benjamin Moore	1805
Joshua Gilbert, Jun.	1806
Isaac Moore	1807
Robert Parry	1807 to 1811
Charles Hamton	1811
Eber Hoopes	1811 to 1813
Job Lippincott	1814
Eber Hoopes again	1815
Nathaniel Pettitt	1815
Mardon Wilson	1816
John Maule	1816
John Dickenson	1816 to 1823

Charles Atherton . . .	1823 to 1825
Joshua V. Buckman . .	1825 to
present time . . .	1827

Since the year 1750, this school has been regularly continued, except one summer when re-building the schoolhouse. Its regularity and permanency may be principally attributed to the circumstance of its having been under the care of directors appointed by Byberry preparative meeting, who devoted certain stated periods to its superintendance.

"Until the year 1794, an English education only, had "been given to the scholars of Byberry school: the lower "branches of mathematics, English grammar, and geogra- "phy had been taught by few of the previous masters. "But in 1794 John Comly took charge of the school, when "the Latin and Greek languages, and the higher branches "of the mathematics were taught by him. This gentle- "man has since been advantageously known as the author of "a concise and excellent treatise on English grammar, "which has in very many seminaries supplanted the more "voluminous work of Murray, and has passed to the fif- "teenth edition.*

About the year 1792, some young men in the neighbourhood formed an association for mutual benefit in the acquisition of useful knowledge. In their investigations and inquiries, the want of a more extensive supply of books than they possessed individually appears to have been felt. After the association closed, divers individuals, whose thirst for an increase of information was lively, exerted their influence to establish a public library, in which they succeed-

* I am indebted to my friend William M. Walmsley for this paragraph, for one a few pages back relating to the Indians, and some others.

ed, near the close of 1794. The principal promoters of this institution were Ezra Townsend, John Comly, Benjamin Walmsley, Asa Walmsley, James Walton, and Thomas Townsend. Especial care was taken by a conspicuous article of their constitution to guard against the introduction of works having an irreligious or immoral character: all atheistical and deistical books, all novels, plays and romances were forever excluded; and every other that had a manifest tendency to corrupt the morals of mankind, or that might be prejudicial to the Christian religion. The company at first consisted of twenty-two members; each paid four dollars, and the library was opened with sixty-three volumes, exclusive of books loaned by divers of the members. It now contains about seven hundred volumes, and the company consists of thirty-five members.

In 1797 a school-house was built in the upper part of Byberry, near Smithfield—another about the year 1800, on a lot of ground given for that purpose by Edward Duffield and Silas Walton, on the Mooreland line. In 1811 a school was established near the meeting-house, for girls, and taught by a mistress. In 1816 a school-house was erected by Friends near James Walton's. Most of these schools are regularly kept up, and reputably conducted.

AN

HISTORICAL ANECDOTE

OF

MR. JOHN HARRIS, SEN.

WHO WAS THE

FIRST PERSON OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN

THAT

Settled on the spot where now stands the Town of Harrisburg, the Seat of Government of Pennsylvania.

BY

SAMUEL BRECK, ESQ.

Communicated at a Meeting of the Council, Feb. 21st, 1827

AN HISTORICAL ANECDOTE, &c.

THERE stands to this day, near the river Susquehanna, in the borough of Harrisburg, the trunk of a mulberry tree, that flourished in full vigour, when William Penn first arrived in the Delaware. At the foot of this tree there is a grave, surrounded by a board fence. It is the sepulchre of the father of the founder of the present seat of government of Pennsylvania. He came to America soon after Penn. He was a Yorkshireman by birth, and in humble life; and it is said assisted to clear away the wood, grub the stumps, and open the streets of Philadelphia. Being an enterprising man, he soon became an active pioneer, and with the fruit of his industry commencing a trade with the Indians, penetrated by degrees to the westward, until he reached the Susquehanna, on the left bank of which river he built himself a cabin, and sat down permanently at the very spot where the town of Harrisburn now stands.

Here he deposited his merchandise, and opened a profitable commerce with his red neighbours, who were numerous about the Paxton creek, and had several villages in its vicinity, along the Susquehanna shore. Mr. Harris acquired the friendship of most of these tribes, receiving their peltry and

other objects of Indian traffic, for his ammunition and rum. This led to an active exchange of commodities, and gradually enabled him to purchase the land adjacent to his establishment, and to undertake considerable agricultural improvements.*

The majestic Susquehanna, nearly a mile broad, flowed in front of his hut, while along its high banks nothing was to be seen but one dark mass of woods, reaching to the summit of the lofty hills that bounded the view in every direction. In the bosom of this wilderness Mr. Harris's family was located, and here was born Mr. John Harris, who, in the year 1785, laid out Harrisburg, and who was the first white child born to the west of Conewago creek.

In this state of things, it happened one day, that a number of his Indian customers, who had been drinking freely, called for an additional supply of rum. On Mr. Harris's refusing to gratify them, they dragged him from his hut, and bound him to that very mulberry tree, at the foot of which he now lies buried.

* We learn from some of Mr. Harris's descendants, that he had, previously to his emigration, worked as a brewer in London, and that he brought with him to this country sixteen guineas, which was the whole of his property. His first purchase of land on the Susquehanna was a tract of five hundred acres from Edward Shippen, for which he paid £190. The deed is dated 19 Dec. 1733. Mr. Harris was the first person who introduced the use of the plough in the neighbourhood of the Susquehanna.—Ed.

Here they declared they meant to burn him alive, and bade him prepare for instant death. Dry wood was gathered and fire held in readiness to kindle it; the yells of the exasperated savages echoed along the shore, while with demoniac gestures they danced around their victim. Death in its most cruel form was before him, and bereft of hope he gave himself for lost. In vain did he supplicate for mercy, and offer every thing in exchange for life; deaf to his entreaties, and determined on his destruction, they declared he should die. The fire was brought to the pile, and about being applied, when a band of friendly Indians, in numbers sufficient to rescue him, burst from the woods and set him at liberty.

These Indians were led on by a negro man named Hercules, a slave belonging to Mr. Harris, who at the first alarm ran to a neighbouring tribe to beg for succour, and now brought it to his master's relief. The deliverance was well timed. A moment's delay would have been fatal. The presence of mind, the decision, the speed of this negro alone saved the respectable Mr. Harris; and so sensible was he of the great service rendered to him by this poor slave, that he instantly emancipated him, and the descendants of the worthy Hercules now reside at Harrisburg, and enjoy their freedom so nobly won, in the bosom of the large community who occupy the ground on which the occurrence took place.

Wherever this story is related, let the virtuous African share largely in our praise and admiration.

An escape so providential was suited to make a deep and lasting impression on the mind of Mr. Harris. Pious and grateful feelings fastened on his heart. It was a signal deliverance; it was a manifest evidence of God's merciful interposition. Struck with this conviction, Mr. Harris, in order to perpetuate the memory of it among his own descendants, directed that at his death his body should be deposited at the foot of this mulberry tree; and there it lies, a memento at once of savage ebriety, domestic fidelity, and above all of the watchfulness of Him "who alone can inflict or "withhold the stroke of death."

It may not be irrelevant to mention a few statistical facts illustrative of the change that has taken place, since the date of the foregoing adventure, on the spot to which the narrative refers.

Mr. John Harris, son of the subject of this communication, founded a town on his patrimonial estate, in 1785, which he called Harrisburg; and built an elegant stone mansion where the hut had stood, and about one hundred and fifty yards from the celebrated mulberry tree.

Harrisburg, now the seat of the State government of Pennsylvania, contains a population of nearly four thousand souls. It communicates with the opposite shore by a covered bridge nearly a mile long, erected by the State and individuals at an ex-

pense of 195,000 dollars. The public buildings for the accommodation of government are very splendid, and cost 252,000 dollars, and were paid for out of the State treasury.

This borough is the county town of Dauphin, and contains six churches, two of which are handsome, and were constructed by Mr. Hills, an architect of taste and science.* There are four hundred dwelling houses, and a probability of a great increase, when the Pennsylvania canal shall be finished, for that useful work will pass through the town. The court-house is a spacious and convenient building. A theatre was erected a few years ago, but rather prematurely. The borough has considerable trade, and sustains a Bank in good reputation.

SAMUEL BRECK,
Of the County of Philadelphia.

P. S.—The foregoing narrative was submitted in substance to the inspection of Mr. Robert Harris, and declared by him to be correct.

* Since the date of Mr. Breck's communication, a Roman Catholic and a Methodist church, both very neat buildings, have been added to the number. The former is indeed an exceedingly pretty edifice and is erected on a handsome site about midway between the State house and the river. A new front to the Presbyterian church, which was formerly destitute of architectural beauty, has greatly improved its appearance. The churches in Harrisburg are now the following, viz. Two Methodist, an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Lutheran, a German Calvinist, a Roman Catholic, and an Unitarian.—Ed.

NOTE.—A granddaughter of Mr. John Harris relates an anecdote, which, as it exhibits the benevolence of his character we append to the preceding narrative.

When the celebrated Whitfield was passing through Pennsylvania, he remained some time in the neighbourhood of Mr. Harris's residence, and preached repeatedly to the people from the surrounding country who flocked to hear him. So great was the fascination of his eloquence, that many neglected the cultivation of their farms, and their fields were left unsown. Mr. Harris remonstrated with them, but ineffectually, and the consequences of their improvidence were likely to prove serious, since not a few at the end of the season found themselves in want. Seeing their destitute condition, Mr. Harris sent a large quantity of grain to the nearest mill, and gave directions that meal should be furnished to any of his poor neighbours who might apply for it. Thus were the families of those who had not listened to his prudent counsel, saved from distress by his liberal kindness.—ED.

INSTRUCTIONS

GIVEN BY

WILLIAM PENN,

IN THE YEAR 1681,

TO HIS

COMMISSIONERS

FOR

SETTLING THE COLONY.

Transcribed from the Original, and presented to the Society, by Joshua F. Fisher, Esq. at a Stated Meeting, May 7th, 1827.

INSTRUCTIONS, &c.

Instructions given by Mee William Penn Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania,

TO

My Trusty and loving Friends, William Crispin John Bezar and Nathaniel Allen, my Commissioners for the settleing of the present Collony this year transported into ye said Province.

First. That so soon as it shall please Almighty God to bring you well there, you take an especiall Care of the people that shall embarque with you, that they may be accommodated wth conveniences as to Food, Lodging and safe places for their goods, Concerning wch my Cosen William Markham my Deputy, and now on the Spott, will in a good measure be able to direct, that so none may be Injured in their healths or estate in wch if you find the Dutch Sweeds or English of my side hard or gripeing, takeing an advantage of your Circumstances, give them to know, that they will hurt themselves thereby, for you can for a time be supply'd on the other side, wch may Awe them to moderate prices.

2nd. That having taken wt Care you can for the Peoples good in the respects above sd let the Rivers and Creeks be sounded on my side of Delaware River, especially Upland in order to settle a great Towne, and be sure to make your choice where it is most navigable, high, dry, and healthy. That is, where most ships may best ride, of deepest draught of water, if possible to Load, or unload at ye Bank or Key side, without boating and Litering of it. It would do well if the River comeing into yt Creek be navigable, at least for Boats up into ye Country, and yt the Scituation be high, at least dry and sound, and not swampy, wch is best knowne by diging up two or three Earths, and seeing ye bottome.

3dly. Such a place being found out, for Navigation, healthy Scituation and good Soyle, for Provision, lay out ten Thousand Acres contiguous to it in the best manner you can as the bounds and extent of the Libertyes of the said Towne.

4thly. The proportion in the said Towne is to be thus, every share or five Thousand Acres shall have an hundred Acres of Land, out of yt ten Thousand Acres. If more then one be concerned in the share, as it may easily fall out: then they to agree of ye dividing ye same as they shall think fitt, still keeping to proportion as if one hundred pounds will have an hundred Acres five pounds will have five Acres.

5thly. That no more Land be surveyed or sett out, till this be first fixt, and ye people upon it.

w^ch^ is best, both for Comfort, Safety and Traffique. In the next season the Lord willing I shall be with you, and then I shall proceede to larger Lotte: This was y^e^ Resolution of a great part of the Purchassers at London the fifteenth day of Septem^b^ 1681 and I find it generally approved.

6^thly.^ If it should happen y^t^ the most Convenient place for this great Towne should be already taken up in greater quantity of Land then is Consisting w^th^ the Town Plott, and y^t^ Land not already improved, you must use yo^r^ utmost skill to perswade them to part w^th^ so much as will be necessary, that so necessary and good a designe be not spoiled, that is, where they have Ten Acres by y^e^ Water side, to abate five, and to take five more backward, and so proportionably, because y^t^ by the Settlement of this Towne, the remaining five in two or three years time will be worth twice as much as those Ten before, yea w^t^ they take backward for their waterside Land will in a little more time, be really more vallueable then all their Ten forward was before; urging my regard to them if they will not break this great, and good Contrivance; and in my Name promise them w^t^ gratuity or priviledge you think fitt, as having a new graunt at their old rent; nay, halfe their quit rent abated, yea, make them as free as Purchasers, rather then disappoint my mind in this Township: though herein, be as sparing as ever you can, and urge the weak bottome of their Graunte, the D. of Yorke having

never had a graunt from the King &c Be impartially just and Courteous to all, That is both pleasing to ye Lord, and wise in itselfe.

7thly If you gain yor point in this respect, (of wch be very carefull) fall to dividing as before according to shares; then subdivide in wch observe yt you must narrower spread by the Water side, and run Backwarde more or lesse, according to the Compasse you have by the Waterside, to bring in the hundred Share for their Proportion in the said Ten Thousand Acres.

8thly. But if you cannot find Land enough by ye Water side to allow an Hundred Acres to five Thousand Acres. Get wt you can, and proportionably divide it, though it were but fifty Acres for a Share.

9thly. Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest Spyes, if you can hear yt any body inveigles ye Indians not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the vallue upon you. You cannot want those yt will informe you, but to sofften them to mee and the people, lett them know yt you are come to sit downe Lovingly among them. Let my Letter and Conditions wth my Purchasers about just dealing with them be read in their Tongue, that they may see, wee have their good in our eye, equall wth our owne Interest, and after reading my Letter and ye said Conditions, then present their Kings wth what I send them, and make a Friendshipp and League wth them according to those Con-

ditions, wh carefully observe, and get them to comply wth you; be Grave they love not to be smiled on.

10thly. From time to time in my Name and for my use buy Land of them, where any justly pretend, for they will sell one another, if you be not Carefull, that so such as buy and come after these Adventurers may have Land ready but by no means sell any Land till I come, allow no old Patents, they have forfeited them by not planting according to the Law of the place and it cost mee too dear to allow such old Storyes, rather than fail offer them the Patent Charge, and where Survey'd the Survey money, but this is understood only of unplanted places only.

11thly. Let no Islands be disposed of to any Body, but all things remaine as they were in yt respect till I come.

12thly. Be sure to Settle the figure of the Towne so as yt the streets hereafter may be uniforme downe to the Water from the Country bounds, lett yc place for the Store house be on the middle of the Key, wch will yet serve for Market and State houses too. This may be ordered when I come, only let the Houses built be in a line, or upon a Line as much as may be.

13thly. Pitch upon the very middle of the Platt where the Towne or line of Houses is to be laid or run facing the Harbour and great River for the scituation of my house, and let it be not the tenth part of the Towne, as the Conditions say (viz) yt

out of every hundred Thousand Acres shall be reserved to mee Ten, But I shall be contented w^th^ less than a thirtyeth part, to witt Three Hundred Acres, whereas severall will have Two by purchaseing Two Shares, y^t^ is Ten Thousand Acres, and it may be fitting for mee to exceede a little.

14^thly.^ The Distance of each House from the Creek or Harbo^r^ should be in my Judg^t^ a measured quarter of a Mile, at least two hundred paces, because of building hereafter streets downewards to y^e^ Harbo^r.^

15^th.^ Let every House be placed, if the Person pleases in y^e^ middle of its platt as to the breadth way of it, that so there may be ground on each side, for Gardens or Orchards or feilds, y^t^ it may be a greene Country Towne, w^ch^ will never be burnt, and allwayes be wholsome.

16^th.^ I Judge y^t^ you must be guided in yo^r^ breadth of Land by w^t^ you can get, y^t^ is unplanted, and will not be parted w^th,^ but so far as I can guesse at this Distance methinks in a Citty, each share to have fifty Poles upon y^e^ Front to y^e^ River, and y^e^ rest Backward will be sufficient. But perhaps you may have more, and perhaps you will not have so much space to allow, Herein follow yo^r^ Land and Scituation, being always just to proportion.

17^th.^ Lastly—Be sure to keep the Conditions hereunto affixed, And see that no Vice or evil Conversation goe uncomplained or Punished in any,

that God be not provoked to wrath against the Country.

In witness hereof I do hereunto ye 30th of 7ber 81 Sett to my hand & Seal

WM PENN.

present as wittnessess

RICHARD VICKRY
CHARLES JONES JNR.
RALPH WITHERS
THOMAS CALLOHILL
PHILIP TH LEHMNANN.

N. B. The orthography and corrections of the original are preserved in the above copy.

A LIST

OF THE

INSTRUCTIONS, LETTERS, &c.

FROM

THOMAS AND RICHARD PENN,

PROPRIETARIES AND GOVERNORS

OF

PENNSYLVANIA,

TO

JAMES HAMILTON, ESQ.

BY

JOSHUA F. FISHER, ESQ.

Presented at a Stated Meeting of the Society, May 7th, 1827.

A LIST, &c.

1747.

Mar. 17. Instructions from the proprietaries to James Hamilton as Governor of Pennsylvania, (parchment.)

17. Commission from Proprietaries to James Hamilton to be Lieut. Governor, (parchment.)

Oct. 27. Letter from Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, (private business.)

1748.

Feb. 22. Letter from Thomas Penn to James Hamilton. —*Presented to the Society.*

Mar. 17. Letter from Thomas Penn to James Hamilton. —Bill in parliament regulating paper currency.

May 12. Order in Council approving James Hamilton's appointment.

18. Commission to James Hamilton to act in proprietary affairs.

18. Instructions to James Hamilton as to proprietary affairs.

July 28. Copy of a Bond of James Hamilton to William Anderson, one of his sureties to the proprietaries.

Aug. 3. Agreement of the Proprietaries with James Hamilton relative to the Office of Prothonotary.

4. Minute of the Lords Justices in Council of Governor Hamilton's taking the Oaths before them.

Aug. 4. Orders and Instructions, in pursuance of several laws relative to trade and navigation, given by the Lords Justices of Great Britain to Thomas and Richard Penn, Proprietaries and Governors of Pennsylvania—and instructions given by the Proprietaries to James Hamilton to observe the same.

4. Order in Council approving a draft of Instructions.

Sept. 5. Letter from Thomas Penn to James Hamilton on the subject of appointments.

Oct. 15. Letter from T. Penn to James Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1749.

Feb. 12. Letter from T. Penn to James Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

12. Letter from T. Penn to James Hamilton on the Duty on American Iron.

June 6. Letter from T. Penn to James Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

July 31. Letter from T. Penn to James Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Aug. 20. R. Penn to James Hamilton.—Of no value or interest.

Oct. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Dec. 14. Copy of the Report from the Lords of Trade on four Pennsylvania acts passed Feb. 1748.—1. To encourage Squirrel Shooting.—2. On Loan Office and Bills of Credit.—3. On Distribution of Intestates' Estates.—4. To Regulate Dealing in Horses.

1750.

Feb. 10. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Feb. 25. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton on the law regulating the number of passengers.—Troubles from the Germans—Mr. Kinsey—Law Courts—Offices and Fees—Town of Carlisle—Law relative to Convicts—Conrad Weiser—French and Indians—Indian Affairs—Expenses of Government—Mills and Furnaces, &c.

Apr. 24. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Private letter of no interest.

May 1. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

May 14. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

June 27. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

July 2. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

3. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton, accompanying a Commission to Messrs. Chew, Peters, &c. for running the Maryland line.

3. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

18. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Aug. 18. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Sept. 14. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Act for the Probate of Wills—Appointment of Officers of the Court.

Dec. 25. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Indian affairs.

1751.

Mar. 30. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Death of the Prince of Wales—his favourable disposi-

tion towards Americans—character of the Assembly—Court of Chancery—Erection of a Fort—Boundaries of Maryland and Delaware—Indians.

Mar. 30. Thomas Penn to James Hamilton.—Introduction of Mr. Humphreys.

July 27. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Relative to an enormous and inadmissible claim of Abm. Taylor, with two letters from Thomas Penn to Mr. Taylor.

29. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Sept. 8. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

26. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Dec. 19. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1752.

Jan. 18. Thomas Penn to James Hamilton.—Of no value.

24. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Mar. 9. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—Death of Mr. Hopkinson—Ed. Shippen spoken of as Judge of the Admiralty—his merits—low marriage of Mr. John Penn—his visit to America.

9. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

May 30. Instructions to James Hamilton, (parchment.)—*Presented to the Society.*

June 5. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—Paper money.

10. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—Bill regulating fees.

July 13. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

July 26. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton, (dated Oct. 26.)—*Presented to the Society.*

Aug. 16. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—About Mr. John Penn.

16. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

26. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Oct. 24. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1753.

Jan. 9. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

30. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Feb. 2. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

2. Copy of Grant of £ 500 to the Academy.

Mar. 1. R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—About Mr. John Penn.

14. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Announcing the death of the infant son of the former.

17. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—About counterfeit half pence.

28. Thomas and Richard Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society*

28. Thomas and Richard Penn to J. Hamilton, (dispensing instruction.)—*Presented to the Society.*

Apr. 2. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

June 29. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Aug. 12. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Oct. 1. Thomas Penn and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—

Instructions not to remit the £80,000 until further orders.

Nov. 1. Thomas Penn and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1754.

Jan. 29. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Mar. 11. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Introducing and recommending Rev. Wm. Smith—Education of the Germans—Lord Baltimore—Kitzmiller's case—Death of Mr. Pelham.

May 15. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Announcing the appointment of Governor Morris—Office of Prothonotary.

3. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Of no interest.

June 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—French—Settlements on the Ohio—Difference with the Assembly—Expression of satisfaction and thanks for J. H.'s conduct as Governor.

Aug. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Nov. 7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1755.

Jan. 27. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Feb. 14. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

26. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Mar. 13. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

22. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Oath to be adminis-

tered to the Assembly—Dissolution of the Assembly—Laws for Militia—Representatives from Bucks County.

Apr. 7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

May 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

26. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

July 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Sept. 7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

15. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Introducing Col. Prevost.

1757.

Jan. 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—About the Legislature —Reinforcements from England.

July 4. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton and Wm. Allen —about Mr Denny's conduct as Governor.

7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton—Quit Rents—Money bills—Franklin's mission to England—Conduct of the Assembly—Sentiments of the English Government—Conduct of Governor Denny —Militia Law—Indians.

1758. During this year Mr. Hamilton was in England.

1759.

June 15. Instructions proposed by T. Penn to J. Hamilton, (with regard to taxing the proprietaries' estates,) but not accepted by him.

Aug. 21. J. Hamilton to T. Penn.—*Presented to the Society.*

21. J. Hamilton to T. Penn. Queries as to the conduct to be pursued by J. H. as Lieut. Governor, in the case of taxing proprietaries' estates—as

to Provision for the War—for the Settlement of the Indians and of the Disbanded Troops.

Aug. 21. J. Hamilton's remarks on the Government of the Province and the difficulties with the Legislature, (evidently written about this time.)

31. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton, about the sale, if necessary, of lots, lands, &c.—Delaware Indians—Ancient Treaty.

Sept. 4. T. Penn to J. Hamilton, (compliments.)

8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. Taking of Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

21. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Oct. 13. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Nov. 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. Opening of Parliament—Taking of Quebec—Bill for the Appointment of Judges.

1760.

Jan. 12. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. Arrival and kind reception of Governor H. in Pennsylvania—"Flags of Truce"—Prosecution of its Author—Death of Mr. Paris—succeeded by Mr. Wilmot—Removal of Mr. Ross from the Attorney Generalship of three lower Counties—cultivation of Hemp in Pennsylvania.

Feb. 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. Resolution of Assembly to disband the Troops—Distribution, by the Assembly, of money, without the consent of the Governor—letting of the Public Squares—Death of Richard Penn's youngest son.

Mar. 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

April 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

May 10, 24. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. Death of the former's son—Money bills—Murders of Indians—Complaints about the Assembly.

June 6. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

21. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

27. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

July 5. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

10. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton and Messrs. Chew, Peters, Lardner, &c. appointing them Commissioners to run the Maryland line.

10. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton about the Appointment of said Commissioners.

11. T. Penn to J. Hamilton about said Commission.

Aug. 22. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

30. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Sept. 5. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

20. R. Penn to J. Hamilton about the death of the former's son.

Oct. 18. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Nov. 1. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

2. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

15. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Dec. 12. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Board of Trade—Franklin's letter—Appointment of Agents by

Dec. 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1763.

Jan. 7. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

29. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Feb. 12. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

17. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Mar. or Feb. 11. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Apr. 23. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

May 20. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

June 4. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

17. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

18. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

July 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Aug. 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

31. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Sept. 1. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Introducing Messrs. Mason and Dixon, Lord Baltimore's Commissioners for running the line.

3. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Acknowledging the latter's faithful and honourable discharge of his duties as Lieut. Governor.

Nov. 11. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Dec. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1764.

Mar. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

June 13. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Nov. 24. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.
1765.
Jan. 16. R. Penn to J. Hamilton.
Feb. 7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.
July 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.
1766.
Jan. 6. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.

About this time Mr. Hamilton was in England and these letters are merely complimental and of no value or interest.

17. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—About the taxing of the Colonies—Lord Chatham's great speech, &c.

1767.

July 30. J. Hamilton to R. Penn—family matters.

Aug 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton—about Mr. Barton.

1768.

Jan. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1769.

Feb. 4. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1770.

Mar. 5. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1771.

Nov. 1. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Death of his brother Richard Penn—Expressions of satisfaction and esteem—Connecticut Intrusion.

The preceding list accompanies the hundred and two letters, &c. noticed as presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and comprising nearly the whole of the interesting correspondence in my possession. I have fully stated the subjects of those which I have retained—although there are hardly six of them of the least possible interest or importance. Such as they are, they are open with the remainder of my collection to any member of the Society.

JOSHUA F. FISHER.

May 7th.

NOTE.—The Historical Society are indebted to Mr. Fisher not only for the liberal donation mentioned above, but also for the care and pains he has bestowed, in arranging and endorsing the papers presented, and in preparing the Index. It is moreover due to this young gentleman to state, that the whole collection of documents enumerated in the list was rescued by him from the fate that has befallen many interesting historical manuscripts, which having come into the possession of persons ignorant of their value, have been committed to the flames, or otherwise destroyed.—ED.

LETTERS

OF

WILLIAM PENN

TO

KING CHARLES II.

AND TO THE

EARL OF SUNDERLAND,

FROM

AUTHENTICATED COPIES OBTAINED IN LONDON,

BY

JOHN R. COATES, ESQ.

And presented by him to the Society, at a Meeting of the Council, March 21st, 1827.

LETTERS, &c.

At the request of John Reynell Coates, Esq. I hereby certify and declare, that the within written copy of a letter from William Penn, Esq. to his Majesty, was actually made from the original deposited in my hands at the time; and that having seen many original letters from the said William Penn, I am well acquainted with his handwriting

P. A. HAMOTT.

Lincoln's Inn, 17*th Nov.* 1826.

GREAT AND GRACIOUS PRINCE

It is a barren Soyle that yeilds noe returns to the dew that feeds it, and they are mean and ungratefull Mindes that are oblivious of the favours they receive. I would fain excuse this freedom, if I were not bound to use it, for being destitute of better ways, Gratitude makes it necessary to me, and necessity is a Sollicitor that takes no deniall. Lett the King then Graciously please, to accept my most humble thanks for his many Royall favours, conferr'd upon me, more especially this of Pennsilvania, I only lament my selfe, that my own Inability will not suffer me to express my selfe, in a way suitable to the sense I have of the great obli-

gations I lye under. But because the Alter was not ordain'd for the Rich & Great only, and that Offerings are to be accepted by the heart that makes them, I perswade myselfe to hope that the King will please to receive my dutifull Acknowledgements by the integrety that humbly sends them, And to beleive, that among the numerous subjects, as well of his Goodness as of his powr, there is none that with more truth, zeal & affection loves and honours him.

Give me leave next, to say, so soon as I was arriv'd and made any settlement of this Province, I thought it my duty to waite upon the King by some Person of the Province, In Condition of an Agent extreordinary, which is the Bearer my kinsman, Markham (formerly deputy in this Government) and tho this would not look wholy free of vanity, (Considering my late private Capacity) yet I take it to be the duty of those Persons whom the Goodness of the Kings of England hath at any time cloathed with extreordinary Powrs in these Parts of the world, to show their deferrance, to the Imperiall Majesty they are tributarys to, and their dependence upon it, by the Mission and Attendance of Agents in their Names at the Court.

I have only now, Great Prince, to pray pardon and acceptance for a poor Presant, of Country produce, and that it would graciously please the King to take me still into his favour, his young Province into his Protection; and God, the Bountefull Rewarder of good and gracious Acts, Retaliate them

both with temporall and Eternall Glory. I am with Reverence and truth

Great and Gracious Prince
Thy most thankfull, humble
and obedient Subject and
Servant in all I can
WM. PENN.

Philadelphia
18th *Aug.* 83.

At the request of John Reynell Coates, Esq. I hereby certify and declare that the within written copy of a letter from William Penn, Esq. to the Earl of Sunderland, was actually made from the original letter deposited in my hands at the time; and that having seen many original letters from the said William Penn, I am well acquainted with his handwriting.

P. A. HAMOTT.

Lincoln's Inn, 17*th Nov.* 1826.

Philadelphia
28th 3mo* *July* 1683

MY NOBLE FREIND

It is an unhappiness incident to great men, to be troubl'd with the respects of ye small folks their kindness obleidges—however, I had rather need

* Or 5mo.

an excuse then be wanting of gratitude to my noble Benefactors, of wch the Lord Sunderland was one of the first, in ye business of my American Country; & tho I have nothing to returne, but humble thanks & good wishes for all his generous favours, yet they have engaged me in a most firm resolution to embrace all occasions by wch I may express my sense of them & gratitude to him. And being thus obleidg'd to interest myselfe in his success and prosperity, I must take leave to Congratulate the happy restoration of the King's grace & favour, in wch without flattery I take the freedom to say I think he has done right to ye Lord Sunderlands abilitys & his own business; for ever since he yeilded me the advantage of his acquaintance in France (a Time of twenty years Standing, or running rather) I have said, many times, to many people, I remember not to have mett a young Nobleman, promessing a sharper & clearer Judgemt & of closer & better sense, and pardon me if I wish that this occasion may give thee time to prove it yet more abundantly to the world.

I was a little elevated wth the hopes of a free discours & censure upon my American enterprize, when it pleas'd thee to give me to beleive I might meet thee some evening at Col: Henry Sidneys; but some greater Affaire diverting rob'd me of the advantage I had reason to promess my selfe from so correct a Conversation. But tho I mist that expression of thy favour, lett me not want the effects of it: I am now in a station, where my own weakness or

my Neighbours envy may happen to hurt my honest interest, & the good work I have in my eye: please to take me & my poor feeble Concerns into thy Protection, & give us thy smiles & Countenance, and I will venture to say; y^t^ by y^e^ help of God & such noble Freinds I will show a province in 7 years equall to her Neighbours of 40 years planting.

I have lay'd out the Province into Countys, Six are begun to be seated, they lye on y^e^ Great River, & are planted about 6 miles back. the Town platt is a mile long & two deep—has a Navigable River on each side, y^e^ least as broad as y^e^ Thames at Woolwych, from 3 to 8 fathom water. there is built about 80 houses, & I have settled at least three hundred farmes Contiguous to it. We have had w^th^ passengers 23 Ships, & tradeing 40 great & small since the last Summer. not amiss for one year. the Country is in Soyle good, aire sereen (as in Languedock) & sweet from the Cedar, Pine & Sarsefrax, w^th^ a wild mertile y^t^ all send forth a most fragrant smell, w^ch^ every brees carrys w^th^ it to y^e^ Inhabitants where it goes. Cyprus, chesnutt, Cedar, Black walnutt, & poppler (y^e^ largest in y^e^ world) Oake of six sorts, white, Red, black, Spanish Chesnutt and Swampe, are the timber of thes parts, ash there is also, but not so frequently here is a hickery nut tree, mighty large, and more tough then our ash, y^e^ finest white & flameing fire I have ever seen.

I have had better venison, bigger, more tender, & as fatt as in England. Turkys of the wood, I

had of 40 & 50 pound weight. Fish in abundance. especially of Shad and Rock, wch are here an excellant Fish. pearch & trout, but no Salmon hereaways yet as I hear of, but oysters, yt are monstrous for higness, tho there be a lesser sort. here are of Fruits, divers wild, the Peach, Grape, & plum. & yt of divers sorts. We have also in ye woods, flowers, yt for Colour, largeness & beuty excell, I intend a Collection of y most valluable of wt this place affords for Arstrope ye next Season. For the people; they are Savage to us, in their Persons, & furniture; all yt is rude; but they have great shape, strength, agility; & in Councel (for they (tho in a kind of Community among themselves) observe property & Governmt) grave, speak seldom, inter spaces of silence, short, elegant, fervent, the old sitt in a halfmoon upon the Ground, the middle aged in a like figure at a little distance behind them, & the young fry in the same manner behind them. None speak but the aged, they having Consulted the rest before; thus in selling me their land they order'd themselves; I must say, yt their obscurity consider'd, wanting tradition, example & instruction, they are an extreordinary people, had not the Dutch Sweeds and English learn'd them drunkenness (in wch condition, they kill or burn one another) they had been very tractable, but Rum is so dear to them, yt for 6 penny worth of Rum, one may buy yt fur from them, yt five shillings, in any other Commodity shall not purchase. Yet many of the old men, & some of ye young

people will not touch w^th^ such spirits; & Because in those fitts they mischeif both themselves & our folks too, I have forbid to sell them any.

Pardon my Noble Freind this length (longer too in my scrawling hand then in it selfe) I thought it my duty to give an account of y^e^ Place to one whos favour had helpt to make it myn, & who was pleas'd more then once to discourse the settlement of it.

I have only to recommend the Bearer my Kinsman, Capt Markham, & to pray access in my affaires, yet not fully fixt, by y^e^ unkindness of my Neighbour, y^e^ Lord Baltimore, & y^t^ it would please thee to accept a poor present, of our growth, remembring, y^t^ the Ancients vallued offerings by y^e^ heart y^t^ made them; & finally to give me leave to ware the character of

My Noble Freind
Thy very sensible and faithfull
Frd. & Serv^t.^ to my powr
WM. PENN.

May I present my humble
duty to the King?

For the EARLE of SUNDERLAND.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.

VOL. II. PART II.

Philadelphia:

E. LITTELL, CORNER OF CHESNUT AND SEVENTH STREETS.

1830.

ADVERTISEMENT.

After a considerable interval of time, the Committee of Publication have the satisfaction of presenting to the Society and the public another half volume of their Memoirs, which will be found, they hope, equal in interest to either of the preceding numbers.

When the publication of the Memoirs of the Historical Society was undertaken in 1825, an expectation was expressed, that the Society would be able to issue, every six months, a half volume of their transactions. This has not hitherto been in their power. The ardour with which the undertaking was commenced, seemed for a time to have somewhat flagged; and during the greater part of the last two years, few original communications were offered.

The attention of the resident members appears, however, at present, to be newly excited. During the last six months, the principal portion of the contents of this number has been furnished, and continued interest and activity may be anticipated.

Several communications are now in preparation, and this committee think they may promise the publication of a series of interesting memoirs on the numerous important subjects hitherto overlooked, as well as on those which have been noticed but not exhausted.

February, 1830.

NOTICE OF THE LIFE

OF

SAMUEL POWEL GRIFFITTS, M. D.

BY B. H. COATES, M. D.

"Esse quam videri."

The office of a historical society is by no means confined to the revival of the neglected and decayed memorials of former years. Amid our regrets for the successive and irreparable loss of those precious records of our ancestors which time awhile had spared, and which we would fain rescue from oblivion, to be completed, compared, and explained, it is perhaps an injustice to posterity to leave to them the same unsatisfactory task with regard to our age which we have already incurred from those who went before us. All that tends to dignify and augment the attachment which every virtuous citizen feels towards his native soil; all that may enable those who are to come after us to grow familiar with the worth which has preceded them; all that may elucidate the nobler parts of the never-exhausted study of man, or enable the youthful aspirant for honest fame or self-rewarded usefulness so to qualify and direct his efforts as to merit well of humanity, and of a conscience that will not flatter, —all furnishes materials well worthy of future perusal, and fully coming within the scope of our association. Preserved

in the documentary pages of historical collections, a kind of perpetuity is given to the records inserted in them; and though, from the comparatively local character of the interest which hangs round antiquarian volumes, the number of those who peruse them may be limited, they still remain, the attested materials of future history, reverenced from an innate desire for their preservation, and possessing a value which progressively increases with advancing years. In this they, in a great measure, share the fate of those medallions to which the form and actions of illustrious men are committed for preservation, and for which they offer no mean substitute; seen, like them, by few, but sought after with the more earnestness, as the tide of time rolls on, from the very circumstance of the smallness of their numbers.

Views of this kind have induced me to offer, for the attention of the society, a brief sketch of the life and character of Dr. Samuel Powel Griffitts. In so doing, I can lay no claim to the merits of a primary collector of scattered facts; as most of the materials presented in this paper have been already laid before a part of the public in a memoir by Dr. Governeur Emerson, published in the North American Medical and Surgical Journal: to which, however, I have been able to make some small additions. Nor will the narrative be found fruitful in striking events; as the life of this excellent physician was passed exclusively among civic scenes. Yet it is not, perhaps, on this account, the less useful. It affords the spectacle of eminence acquired in the peaceful walks of life, by the exertion of those virtues, the opportunities for which occur within the reach of every one; and it is, on this account, the better fitted as a pattern for the imitation of others.

Dr. Griffitts was born in Philadelphia, July 21st, 1759. He was the third and last child of William Griffitts and

Abigail Powel, members in unity with the society of Friends. His father left him an infant: from his mother he received that education which qualified him so well, by the regular, moral, and religious habits it produced, for the exercise of a life of piety and usefulness. As he ripened in age he grew convinced of the correctness, in principle and practice, of the religious body with whom he found himself associated; and soon became, as he continued till the day of his death, one of their most valued, consistent, useful, and influential members. He became an excellent classical scholar at the college of Philadelphia; acquiring a facility in speaking, and a correctness in criticising the Latin language, which was often admired, when, at a subsequent period, he attended the examinations of the public schools under the care of Friends; and, in addition to the branches of study then universal among well informed men, he acquired a high degree of proficiency in the French language.

Dr. Griffitts first applied himself to the study of medicine under the superintendence of Dr. Adam Kuhn; well known among us as a learned pupil of the celebrated Linneus, and then occupying the office of professor to a small class of materia medica and botany in the college of medicine in this city. Between this respected teacher and his pupil ensued a friendship, which time only confirmed and augmented. Drs. Griffitts and Wistar, then both students, volunteered their professional assistance for the wounded at the battle of Germantown; an occasion on which their religious principles did not permit them to assume an authorized and formal charge. After remaining for some time with Dr. Kuhn, the young aspirant for medical honours found himself obliged, in conformity with the universal custom of the time, to proceed to Europe for the completion of his education. We had not then an university whose

phy, proposed, it seems, in 1785, the establishment of a Dispensary in Philadelphia; and, with the assistance of Samuel Powel, Dr. Griffitts's uncle, drew up a plan for its organization, which was subsequently revised and finally adopted, with the co-operation of Drs. Rush, Griffitts, Hall, and Morris. It is said to have been made clear, by the circumstances of a recent trial, that evidence which a man gives against himself is not always to be held conclusive. The mere proposal, or rather recommendation to our predecessors, of a measure which was already familiar by its successful execution in London, an occurrence redundant in the brain of every projector, should avail but little to detract from the merit of him, to whose intellect and energy we are entirely indebted for its actual execution. Let the fact be recorded; but let it not diminish the credit awarded to the useful and indispensable exertions of Dr. Griffitts.

In the short space of two weeks, among a population of about 40,000, there were obtained three hundred and twenty subscribers; and the Dispensary went early into operation, in which it has continued, without interruption, to the present time. In 1816, two new charities of the same kind were created in our suburbs; in the establishment and support of which Dr. Griffitts took the same interest, and exerted much of the same industry, which, during so long a period, he had evinced for the parent institution. Throughout this long period, according to the writer already quoted, he rarely omitted a daily visit to the cherished object of his anxieties.*

In the same year in which the Dispensary was established

* The Philadelphia Dispensary was not, however, the earliest institution of the kind in this city; as a similar one, attended by a physician with a salary, formed, from its foundation in 1755 to 1817, what was termed the department of *out patients* to the Pennsylvania Hospital.

he became an active member of the Humane Society; and was likewise chosen into the American Philosophical Society. In 1787, he became one of the original members of the College of Physicians; a body which, in 1817, honoured him with its vice presidency.

In 1787, also took place his marriage with Mary Fishbourne, daughter of William Fishbourne, merchant, of Philadelphia. This truly estimable lady, with six children, still survive him.

In 1790, he joined the Pennsylvania Abolition Society; and about the same time, the Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. In both of these associations, his exertions will be long and affectionately remembered by his colleagues; but particularly with regard to the improvement of the penal code; a task, the successful prosecution of which by various hands has contributed, perhaps, nearly as much as any other thing, to spread throughout the world the honest fame of Pennsylvania.

In this service he had the pleasure of co-operating and being associated with the venerable Bishop White; the one acting as president, and the other as secretary, throughout the whole existence of the association, from its foundation until the termination of Dr. Griffitts's life.

In November, 1791, Dr. Griffitts was elected one of the incorporated overseers of public schools for the town and county of Philadelphia, under the charge of Friends. Of this plain, but useful association, he continued to be a valued member for twenty-four years; resigning in May, 1815. In the conduct of its schools, this body has always aimed at solid, rather than showy instruction. Their success has not only been such as to furnish an excellent elementary education to the whole mass of the members of their own society, and to an additional number of

gratuitous scholars, from among others, whose honourable poverty was never affronted by their being made objects of public display; but the classical and mathematical instruction dispensed under their superintendence has served to develope the genius of some of the brightest ornaments which science and useful public life have given to our community.

In 1792, he was elected Professor of Materia Medica in the University of Pennsylvania, which situation he held with the highest credit and rapidly increasing usefulness for four years; after which he resigned. This voluntary relinquishment of a situation which afforded abundantly both fortune and fame, can only be explained in one possible way, namely, by a species of modesty similar to that which we have already described; and which induced a dislike to the glare of applause, a sense of the partiality and injustice of popular fame, and a disinclination to receiving salaries. These feelings, which will appear incredible to many, have unquestionably a real existence, and bore a powerful sway in the bosom of Dr. Griffitts.

The sufferings and forlorn situation of the unfortunate emigrants, who arrived from St. Domingo, in the year 1793, deprived of their sometimes princely fortunes, and snatched or smuggled with difficulty and concealment from amidst their murdered relatives, to experience the evils of poverty in a foreign land, could not fail to awaken the most powerful sympathies in the breast of our philanthropic townsman. Accordingly, we find him conspicuous, not only in raising subscriptions, but in superintending their application; a task for which he was particularly fitted by his familiarity with the French language.

But in the same year his intellectual and moral powers were destined to undergo a far severer trial, and of a kind truly

dangerous and terrific, in endeavouring to withstand the progress of the celebrated pestilence, which carried terror and dismay to the remoter districts, and which made Philadelphia, in silence and desolation, almost resemble a city of the dead. When the yellow fever, with startling rapidity, spread over the larger part of what was then the ground plot of our city, as well as in all subsequent visitations of the same kind, Dr. Griffitts remained at his post, not being able to reconcile it with his sense of duty to forsake the scene where his services were so much more than ever needed. One of a small number* who dared and survived to face the destroying visiter, he so disposed of his time as to attend to the greatest possible number of calls, and still continued his attentions till himself disabled by an attack of the tremendous malady with which he was contending. As soon again as his health was in a tolerable degree restored, he immediately resumed his labours, and never intermitted them till the approach of salubrity and peace.

The manner in which Dr. Griffitts arranged his occupations, during this awful calamity, so as to produce the maximum of benefit to the community, deserves to be studied; and we shall give it as we have often heard it described by those who witnessed the calamitous events of that time. Every principle of it was guided by the coolest sagacity and reflection. Those squares which hardly presented a visible inhabitant, excepting here and there a starving cat or pigeon, and which rather resembled a collection of tombs

* It is no more than an act of justice to the conscientious fortitude of a number of our active citizens, to state, that, on comparing the lists of members of the Prison Society, and the other charitable associations of that time, with that of the individuals who volunteered their services in the fearful and disastrous times of the yellow fever, they will be found largely composed of the same names.

than habitations of the living, in reality contained a considerable population. Besides those whom ignorance or a wish to take care of their property retained in the city, multitudes of the poor were prevented from removing by the actual want of means; and they remained, in the winding recesses of their confined alleys, to form food for the demon of destruction. As the number of physicians whom death and flight had left in town was extremely reduced, amounting for a considerable interval to no more than six, these divided the city into districts, of which each took charge of one. A central, thoroughly infected, and populous section was undertaken by Dr. Griffitts; and he attended to it with the most unremitting industry, and a punctuality never deficient. He never left his district, not even to cross the street, knowing well that it was impossible for him, by any exertions, to give attendance to all the sick, and conceiving that every principle of justice demanded of him such a management of his time, as to enable him to visit the greatest number admitted of by his physical capabilities. The same principle he extended to hours; and most scrupulously regulated his goings forth and returnings by the clock. Those who sought him at the appointed moments were sure to find him, as he would not disappoint them for even the most pressing summons. This severe discipline, somewhat resembling the terrific but substantial mercies of a surgical operation, in reality economised and saved numerous lives; one of which is very probably that of the practitioner himself. Far worse would the situation of the unfortunate have been, had Dr. Griffitts sunk in the conflict. He who rashly throws away his own existence in the service of his perishing fellow creatures, has an unquestionable title to our regrets for his loss and our gratitude and praise for his self-devotion; but he is less excellent as a moral agent than

one who confines his risks to the probable pursuit of a useful object. The surgeon, who, in time of battle, leaves his appointed post in the cock-pit, and is slain upon the deck, where he has no right to be, is guilty of neglect of duty. Not so did Dr. Griffitts. Life with him was freely lavished; but it was lavished in such a way as to extend, to the farthest limit in his power, the supply of his services to others. It is highly probable that the passage through such a fiery ordeal contributed much to temper and anneal that remarkable character for regularity and unfailing punctuality, for which he was so conspicuous in after life.

In those subsequent years when the same distressing calamity recurred, a similar course was uniformly pursued by Dr. Griffitts; but in none did there exist an equal call for its exertion, with the exception of the truly funereal 1798; and we are not, perhaps, absolutely without grounds for a hope that we may never be so awfully visited again. In more than one instance, however, Dr. Griffitts's fortitude was put severely to the test, in a manner quite different from that which we have described. I allude to an ungrateful clamour, injurious to his reputation, raised by a portion of his fellow-citizens from no more fitting cause than his having made known the existence of the yellow fever in this city, to the more immediate injury of its trading interests. It seems to be a settled principle that he who first announces the invasion of a pestilence should be defamed and maltreated by his fellow-citizens; the most highly civilized communities, in this respect, resembling those Turkish despots who murder the messenger of bad news; as even the polished Athenians are said to have condemned to death the man who first brought them information of a signal defeat sustained by their armies from the Lacedæmonians. Physicians, in various ages, have suffered by this propensity; and by none is it more bitterly

complained of than by Sydenham, who made known the existence of the plague in London, and by our own Rush, who shared the troubles of Dr. Griffitts. So little capable are most men of forming a just valuation of what passes in elevated minds on occasions calculated to draw forth all their emotions, that the deep and strong feeling which these receive and betray from the tragical events which surround them, has been mistaken for pecuniary interest, folly, or insanity! They feel themselves acting a dignified part; and their motives and conduct differ so far from those of the majority, that ordinary intelligences are unable to comprehend them. To the sensitive mind which is conscious of making the most extraordinary exertions for the public service, extending to a personal risk of life from which others shrink, it is peculiarly hard to bear the additional load of misrepresentation. The subject of these notes felt it severely; needing, to enable him to support it, all that high sense of duty for which he was conspicuous.

To descend from these heroic times to the ordinary events of a peaceful city, excites feelings somewhat resembling those with which we turn from the semi-fabulous and majestic exploits of high antiquity, to the tiresome intrigues of the modern courts of Europe. The mind flags from the want of high excitement, and a sensation of meanness and vulgarity is felt in the most important affairs of common life. Besides the private efforts which Dr. Griffitts, in common with all other educated physicians, made for the furtherance of vaccination among us, he was an original member and active promoter of the Vaccine Society, founded in 1809; an association to the labours of whose members, thus performing tasks which, in many countries, are undertaken by governments, is mainly due the *entire extinction* and banishment from our city, for many successive

years, of the small pox; a result beyond that which is believed to have been obtained in any other part of the world, without actual compulsion. Our protection, it is true, has since diminished, from the entire expulsion of the pest to a simple guarantee against death and deformity, still subject to the occurrence of a modified disease; but this certainly presents quite sufficient cause for gratitude. When, in the year 1811, the religious society of Friends determined to provide an asylum for the reception of such of their members as should be deprived of the use of their reason, to be modelled after the institution near York, and to be conformed to the latest and most humane improvements in the treatment of its inmates, Dr. Griffitts became immediately most warmly interested. The subject appears to have lain on his mind for years. The present is not the place to expatiate upon the humanity, comfort, and curative success of the Frankford Asylum; but it should be borne in mind that a large share of its usefulness is owing to the labours and skill of the subject of our memoir.

Our account of the exertions of this virtuous man is drawing to a close. The last public event of any importance, in the bringing about of which he was concerned, was the production of the American Pharmacopœia. Works of this kind are by their nature imperfect; and the best of them, prepared by public bodies, possessing, among their members, the brightest scientific lights of the age, have furnished a surprising amount of matter for just criticism. The compilation of our countrymen is by no means free from perhaps more than its due share of faults; but whether we consider the manner in which it was produced, not by a privileged body or by order of a government, but by the spontaneous association of a number of medical institutions for the common good; or whether we look to the import-

ance of the object in view, a similarity in the preparation of medicines throughout this widely extended empire, and to the great degree to which it answered its useful purpose, we cannot but regard it as a production commanding our high respect, and reflecting great honour on its projectors and executors. Dr. Griffitts was placed on a committee of the College of Physicians, to prepare a draft to be presented to the national convention, to be held for this purpose in the capitol at Washington. This labour was chiefly performed by himself; and a large share of what excellence the printed edition possesses is owing to his exertions. The convention met on the first of January, 1820; and the Pharmacopœia was published at Boston, in the same year.

But the termination of his useful labours was now at hand. During the last two years of his life, a visible diminution took place in his strength and activity. He continued, however, to execute his usual tasks, unless when interrupted by actual sickness, till the month of May, 1826. For several days he had experienced a debility which prevented him from visiting the whole number of his patients, unaccompanied, however, by any very distinct marks of disease; when, on the morning of the twelfth, on arising from his bed, he discovered alarming symptoms about the chest. These proved to be owing to an attack of peripneumonia notha; which hurried him off in less than an hour; no one but his family witnessing this real euthanasia.

At this awful epocha ends the usefulness of most men; but Dr. Griffitts had pre-determined to do good even after his death. It deserves to be mentioned, as a fitting close to such a life, that, in the directions he left behind him, it was attempted to make the last melancholy duties which we pay to the forsaken clay, beneficial to a community of which he was no longer a member. He had long been impressed

with the injurious consequences of interments within large cities; and his corpse, in pursuance of his own directions, was one of the first deposited in a new burying ground, situated without the precincts of the town, with the object of setting an example to those whom prejudice or habit might deter from thus forsaking the hereditary asylum of the dead.

Dr. Griffitts was of the middle size; and, though very liable to indisposition, had a frame that withstood a remarkable amount of exertion and exposure. He was, at one period of his life, subject to dyspepsia; and, for near thirty years, is said never to have passed a twelvemonth without an attack of intermittent fever. Yet, unless actually suffering from illness, the severest weather never kept him at home; and he was seen braving the east wind, in which he took a pleasure, with all the hardihood of a seaman. Constant attention was, however, necessary to obtain his frame in a condition capable of hard service; and he practised the most rigid temperance and self-denial.

At an early period of his life, but not, as we have heard him state, till after long deliberation, he adopted the plain and peculiar dress worn by the graver members of the religious society of which he was a member. His address was affable and prompt; his manner of speech, striking and epigrammatic. He possessed, in a remarkable degree, the power of commanding the confidence and affection of his patients; by whom he was always regarded as a kind encouraging friend. Having experienced much of the ills of life, he early anchored his mind on a rigid sense of duty, and on the consolations offered by religion; and his piety was founded on a sincere and unshaken faith in the doctrines of Christianity. The writer of this has heard him contend that fame was not a legitimate reward for virtuous actions; rectitude, he maintained, was all that we had a

right to aim at, in even the noblest. This strictness of principle pervaded all his movements; and was concerned in that exact attention to all the smallest duties which was so striking in his character. For punctuality he became proverbial; he was an early riser, and was almost invariably one of the earliest at the meetings of the public bodies to which he belonged. He considered correctness in this respect a moral duty of a high stamp; regarding the unnecessary detention of others as an infliction of a positive injury; being, in fact, unjustly depriving them of what was their own. The uniformity with which he paid his daily visits to the Dispensary has been already mentioned; and, with nearly equal certainty, he would call every day upon each of his children and grandchildren residing in the city.

The manner in which he relinquished a situation of profit and honour sufficiently demonstrates his freedom from ordinary ambition; while, during the whole course of his life, he never seems to have betrayed a wish to accumulate wealth. In fact, exactness in the discharge of his daily duties seems with him to have constituted what is called the ruling passion. He is said to have always begun the day by reading a portion of the New Testament in Greek or Latin; and he was seldom known, even in the midst of the most pressing engagements, to be absent from the public meetings of his religious society. His fellow-members placed confidence in him; and they always found it ably justified by his subsequent conduct.

In his intercourse with other physicians, his behaviour was uniformly candid and ingenuous; governed, at the same time, by the strictest rules of medical etiquette; which he considered as having a moral obligation on medical practitioners. His practice as a physician was eminently successful, displaying great judgment and penetration, and a deep

sense of the moral responsibility of his charge. He always combined the two opposite precautions of a due respect for established doctrines and modes of practice, and a readiness, at all times, to receive and acknowledge truth, though under the garb of novelty. That the healing art had made important progress during his life time, he well knew; but his habits of mind entertained a strong repulsion for those doctrines and theories which he conceived to have been advanced, either without sufficient inquiry, or with a criminal indifference to their truth. Though deeply sensible of the great importance of incorrect medical doctrines, he could yet agree to differ, and knew how to retain his friendship for those opposed to him in sentiment, where he conceived them to be actuated by sound moral principles.

As a writer, Dr. Griffitts appears but little. In fact, he was prevented by the same feelings which made him shun the glare of popular fame, when attached to a professor's chair. Though he was an elegant scholar, his essays are characterised by plainness, attention to accuracy in fact, and a direct subserviency to the useful purpose. The amount of labour which he expended in drawing up the accounts and reports of the Dispensary and other charities, and, in other similar services, in which he never spared himself, is astonishing; and would, if differently directed, have enabled him, with much greater ease, to produce a large number of professional writings. I know of no publications from his hand, except the following; all of which were inserted in a useful medical journal, called the Eclectic Repertory, of which for several years he was one of the editors. They are, an essay on the best means of preserving and using the vaccine crust, one on the use of blisters in arresting mortification, another on re-infection in yellow fever, the occurrence of which it is the object of the paper to disprove, a

neat biographical notice of his preceptor, Dr. Adam Kuhn, written with all the warmth of an affectionate pupil, and all the severe candour of a principled lover of truth; and a case of supposed aneurism of the right carotid artery, which ultimately proved to be of a different nature; his object being to serve the community by thus recording an error of his own, and to prevent the performance of an operation, in cases similar to that which he records. This is a species of candour which has in all ages been found to characterise superior minds in the profession of medicine. Such souls as Hippocrates, Sydenham, and Hunter, have been conspicuous for it; nor must our own Rush be in this respect denied a commendation which is justly his due.

Such is a brief outline of the narrative and character of one to whom the maxim ascribed by Sallust to Cato may be faithfully applied. "To be, rather than to seem," was truly the object of his persevering endeavours. He was, indeed, an eminent example of those virtues which the Roman lyrist so fervently commends, in an age which so deeply felt the want of them.

Pudor, et Justitiæ soror,
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas.

NARRATIVE

OF

SIR WILLIAM KEITH'S

COMING TO

THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA,

With his Conduct in it.

(*WRITTEN IN* 1726)

WITH SOME INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS,

BY

JOSHUA FRANCIS FISHER.

Read at a Meeting of the Council, February 20th, 1828.

NARRATIVE, &c.

THE following account of Sir William Keith's administration was found among the papers of the late James Hamilton Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania. I have been unable to discover its author, though I find, from the concluding paragraph, that it was written in England and in the year 1726. I may, however, observe, that the celebrated barrister Andrew Hamilton was at that time in England, and employed in the proprietary service; and, as it is evident that the paper was composed for the Penn family, it is possible that it may be his production.

As a contemporary narrative, it has considerable interest, and its value is increased by the fair and temperate manner in which it is written. It is not indeed quite in accord with some of the accounts we have received of Governor Keith; but I think I may venture to assert, that his character and administration have received undue eulogy; and, it is now full time that the misrepresentations of Franklin's Review, which have been copied in every succeeding history or sketch, should be corrected. It will not perhaps be considered an unsuitable preface to this narrative, if I string together a few anecdotes and observations, which may be of some service to future annalists.

Sir William Keith was of the family of Powburn, in the

north of Scotland, and his grandfather was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1663. With his title he inherited no fortune. In the latter part of Queen Anne's reign he obtained the post of surveyor general of the customs for the American colonies, with a salary of £500 sterling; a reward perhaps for services to the high tory ministry then in power. On the accession of king George, he was displaced; and when he visited Philadelphia in 1715, he was so much in want, that we but cannot believe he had interested motives for the pains he took to conciliate the proprietary's friends. He was recommended by them to the family in England so strongly as a successor to Col. Gookin, and found means to gain such favour with the Penns, that he soon afterwards received his commission. The difficulties and expenses in obtaining the royal confirmation may have been occasioned by his political connexions.

When he left England, he professed himself the devoted servant of the proprietary; and Hannah Penn says, in a letter to James Logan, "He has also given me such assurance of his care and zeal in our affairs, as gives us room to hope you may safely consult with him for your own ease and our benefit in cases of property."

It is well known in what way these promises were fulfilled. From the proprietary he had already received his *office*. The assembly had in their grant what was of much more moment—his *salary*. I quote the words of Franklin: "With as particular an eye to his own emolument, he did indeed make his first address to the assembly; but then, all he said was in *popular* language. He did not so much as name *the proprietary*, and his hints were such as could not be misunderstood, that, in case they would pay him well, he would serve them well." However, for some time he kept terms with his constituents and his council—perhaps he could

find no suitable grievance or occasion for a quarrel; and indeed it was difficult to discover any act of premeditated encroachment or oppression on the part of the proprietary government. A contemporary letter says, "the governor, soon after his first arrival, was advised that the best means to advance his interest with the people, would be to fall in with David Lloyd, and those who opposed the proprietary interests, so far as to make that step of passing laws with that assembly without any real concurrence of his council; but some others of his countrymen, in whom he also very much confided at that time, viz. William Trent, who was speaker of that assembly, and Andrew Hamilton, advising very earnestly against it, he seemed to fall in very cordially with the council, till such time as some late mobbish elections were set on foot; upon which, in hopes of advancing his interest more effectually by countenancing these, he changed sides again, and now acts his present part."

As it is not my object to complete a biographical sketch of Governor Keith, I will not detail nor criticise the acts of his administration. They are to be found elsewhere. Those who will turn to the severe but admirable letter of Hannah Penn, addressed in 1724 to Sir William, will see how just were the causes of complaint which that excellent woman had against her deputy. This letter has been condemned, as containing both doctrines and precepts at variance with the charter of 1801—which does not confer on the council that authority and consideration which this letter as well as previous instructions to the lieutenant governor directed him to yield. But, I do not know how men of intellect could deny to the proprietaries the absolute right of instructing and controlling their deputy in the exercise of his legislative functions—or argue that they could not forbid him to act in affairs of moment without the consent of

counsellors, amongst whom were men of the greatest honour, understanding, and experience of the colony. Without this check and control—the democracy of the assembly, with an unprincipled governor, would have possessed a power which Wm. Penn never would have conferred—a power destructive of all the proprietary interests in Pennsylvania.

Sir William, who, at the time of the receipt of this letter, was losing his popularity among the colonists, and his influence in the legislature, determined to betray the private instructions of his constituents. He delivered the letter to the assembly, and, by the outcry and misinterpretations of his partisans, so inflamed the passions, and excited the prejudices of the populace, that he soon regained his former place in the affections of the ignorant and base.

His mean, sycophantic addresses to the assembly deserve particular reprobation, and gained for him the hatred and contempt of many of the best men in the province.

Jeremiah Langhorne, one of the worthiest and most influential inhabitants, for many years speaker of assembly, and afterwards chief justice, in a letter, dated February, 1724, says, that the governor, having invited the house, with whom he was not at that time on very good terms, "to take a glass and pipe with him," made a long harangue to them, in which he challenged them to let him know, "whose petition he had refused—whose complaint he had not heard; and demanded of them, as justice and his right, to let him know wherein he had not discharged his duty to the public, that he might guard against any thing of the kind for the future; and if they had nothing to charge him with, to say so—for it would be very unjust for any man to deny a good servant that had served out his time faithfully, a certificate, if demanded, in order to recommend him to another service."

"You'll plainly discover what is meant by all this. I

think it means no more than to raise compassion in the populace, whom you know he has courted in the most abject manner; for I believe he is so far from thinking (if he is to be believed in any thing he says) that it is in the power of the proprietary's family to displace him, under the present posture of their affairs, that he thinks it impossible for them to remove him: And should any of that family come over as governor, (without the royal approbation,) I am of opinion he would not resign."

His treachery and his arts had so much success in exciting the animosity of the colonists against the proprietary government, that the true friends of the province and of the Penns were able only to utter an unheard and unavailing protest. In a letter to John Penn, James Logan observes: "Sir William Keith, in the latter years of his government, had so far succeeded in his ambitious designs of making himself wholly independent of the proprietor's family, that amongst the populace that family could scarcely be mentioned without a slight. That he was a gentleman of great natural abilities, and no less art, we were all fully sensible; and as he well knew how to lay hold of men by their weak sides, he had gained over to his interest the greater part of the whole country. Some few, who could see further, were proof against his baits, and particularly J. Langhorne, who, with some few of his friends, had interest enough in his county to carry the election there, and to furnish our assemblies with eight members yearly, who, with two or three more, as they could from time to time be found amongst those of the other counties and be prevailed on, were such a clog on the governor's schemes, that he could not often carry them in that house. His interest and influence, however, gradually increased, and was at a great height, when

happily Col. Gordon was sent over to supersede Sir William's commission.

"As this gentleman (Gordon) had no experience, no turn for government, nor any great abilities to engage with a person consummate in them all, (good judgment alone excepted,) and who had also the advantage of the populace, especially of Philadelphia, on his side; 'tis easy to imagine what vast labour and contrivance, and how exact a conduct it required to gain on so powerful an opposition. But, on the other hand, as he appeared a person of probity and sincerity, great honour, and good nature, and perfectly disposed to be advised by his friends; with these, and with the advantage of authority on his side, he, with the assiduous endeavours of those on whom he depended, gradually made his way into the esteem of those of judgment: but, during those two years nearly that Keith continued amongst us, our struggles were hard, and vast difficulties were to be overcome; and Sir William, even at his departure, left such a poison behind him, that after he was gone his adherents did all in their power to plunge us in a war with the Indians; a crime that ought never to be forgiven those persons in a public capacity, however civilly in other respects it may be proper to treat them."

For the conclusion of the career of Governor Keith, I cannot do better than use the words of a distinguished lady, who is better acquainted than any one with this period of our provincial history.

"In the spring of this year (1728) Sir William Keith left the province; his ambitious projects to secure himself in the government having totally failed him. Much is said in the letters of James Logan respecting his intriguing spirit and dishonourable behaviour, both in the latter years of his government, and during the time he stayed in Pennsylvania

after the arrival of Col. Gordon, to whom he was so personally uncivil, that the old veteran proposed to him once at New Castle to take a boat and go over on the Jersey shore, where they would be on an equal footing. But this put a stop to Sir William's declamations against the proprietors.

"After he found himself superseded, he trusted that his popularity, which he had most assiduously cultivated, would place him in a situation to benefit himself and irritate his enemies; and accordingly, with a view to the speaker's chair, got himself chosen a representative to the assembly from Philadelphia county; boasting that if he was to be no longer governor, the devil himself should not prevent him from being speaker. But in this he had to contend with a candidate equal in popular favour, David Lloyd, who numbered amongst his friends all those of the popular party who felt or desired to be thought to feel, gravity and seriousness. Whilst Sir William principally swayed the more free and less religious part of the community, his party being called Keithians, a name of reproach at that time in Pennsylvania, from the followers of George Keith, of apostate memory, being so designated. It was at the election of 1726, that Sir William was chosen; and on the day the assembly met, he rode into town with a cavalcade of eighty horse. Yet he was not so much as named as speaker, for every vote but three was given to David Lloyd, who then professed a reconciliation with James Logan, a just regard to the proprietor's family, and a great friendship for Col. Gordon, whom he believed, he said, to be a really honest man.

Sir William's friends found themselves thus in a helpless minority. What his schemes afterwards were, cannot now be so well ascertained; but it is certain that persecuted by creditors, whom he had not the means of satisfying or silencing, he quitted the field of action. An old letter now

before me gives the following account of his departure; after stating the various rumours that he had been sent for to Europe, in order to receive a new commission for the government, &c. and that others "thought he had been made uneasy by some judgments against him, and a fresh demand on him from Europe for £500 sterling, which made him think fit to desert his bail; however this be, (continues the letter, which is dated March 30th, 1728,) this is the fact, that Sir William Keith, about twelve days since, went very privately down from hence (Philadelphia) in a boat to New Castle, attended only by his friend, Wm. Chancellor, and went with one small trunk only on board Capt. Colvell's ship, then lying before that place, and bound for Europe, and that he staid in her two days so very privately, that not one in the place knew of it beside the collector, his son in law, and the parson George Ross; for that all the other inhabitants had the first news of his departure from this place after the ship had sailed."

Keith's conduct as a member of the legislature was so dishonourable and violent that he quickly lost the good opinion of his friends. He attempted to thwart every measure of his successor, and threatened to wrest the government from the proprietary family; but notwithstanding all his boasts and threats, as his views became understood, his power declined; and before he left America, he had drawn upon himself universal contempt and detestation. He attempted, indeed, to vindicate his conduct in a pamphlet printed in New York and Maryland; but this, says a contemporary letter, only "served to expose his vanity and folly."

On his return to England, he found himself without reputation, influence, or money. He was perhaps induced by his distress to undertake a history of the different colonies, for which he was sufficiently qualified both in mind and by

education. He began with Virginia, and though his production was quite respectable, he was not encouraged to proceed with his undertaking.

I have found but one later notice of him, and that alone is sufficient, among Americans, to render his name forever infamous. It was he who first suggested to the British ministry the idea of *taxing the colonies*. In Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, we find it particularly stated, that Sir William Keith, late governor of Pennsylvania, proposed this project to the great statesman soon after the failure of his excise bill, to which Sir Robert indignantly replied, "I have Old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England likewise?" An answer worthy of that minister, who, some years before, on hearing of the discontent which Swift had excited in Ireland, on occasion of the patent granted to Wood, replied, "If, after all, the Irish should dislike the plan, I shall give it up, as I would never wish to oppose the general opinion of a country." But what shall we say of our *popular* governor?

After this statement, it seems almost unnecessary to add a character of Sir William Keith.

He was a man of good talents, respectable acquirements, and genteel address; but he was artful, avaricious, and without principle. His deportment towards the proprietaries was ungrateful and treacherous; and his private conduct (for an instance of which I may refer to Franklin's Biography) was unworthy of a gentleman.

If, under his government, many useful laws were passed, I know not why he should have the chief credit for them; and his popularity with the people was any thing but honourable, since it was the result of meanness and sycophancy. His talents were certainly far superior to those of his two

contemptible predecessors, and his administration more respectable; but he will hardly compare with either of his successors in dignity, in integrity, or in the faithful performance of the divided duty to the proprietors and the people.

Narrative of S^r W. Keith's coming to the Gov^t of Pennsylv^a and his Conduct in it, &c.

In y^e year 1715, S^r W^m Keith, then W^m Keith, Esq^r: being in America and out of all employ, and in his Travells happening to come to Pensylvania, the gentlemen of the Councill in that Province, who were the Proprietor's Friends, in compassion to his Distressed circumstances, recommended him to y^e said late Proprietor Penn, who was then in England.

Mr. Keith no sooner arriv'd in Britain, and Presented himself with the recommendation afores^d to y^e late Proprietor Mr. Penn and his Friends, but a commission in y^e usuall form was granted to him, to be Deputy Governour of Pensylvania, and the three Lower Countys of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Dellaware, and likewise advanc'd to y^e s^d Mr. Keith a considerable sum of money to Provide himself w^th necessaries, in Order to his Transporting himself and family to Pensylvania, where he arriv'd in May 1717.

At his coming into y^t Governmment, he was kindly received by the People; and the Proprietor's Friends, Especially, us'd all their Interest to get him an honourable support, and Accordingly the first year his Support and Perquisites which he receiv'd from y^t government amounted to about £1600, together with a sum exceeding that, which belonged to his Majesty, and which remains unaccounted for in his hands at this day. And every year since except

this last, the said Government has been worth at least £1800 Pensylvania money to him.

Upon the death of the late Proprietor, W^m Penn, his son W^m Penn, in the year 1719, sent over a new commission to S^r W^m Keith to be Governour of the Province of Pensylvania and the Countys aforesd. But S^r W^m hearing the late Proprietor had made a Will, and therein devised the government in Trust to be sold, &c. the s^d S^r W^m, without any further Information, or so much as taking any notice of the said commission, or acquainting any of the Proprietor's family, sent home a very unjust representation of the State of that Government, and thereupon by his Friends, without the privity of any of the Proprietor's family, obtained a letter from M^r Delafaye, purporting that, by an Order of the then Lords Justices, y^e said S^r W^m should continue to act upon his former appointment, untill his Majesty's or the Proprietor's Pleasure should be known.

S^r W^m upon the receipt of this letter, openly declar'd himself to hold the government Immediately of the crown. And altho' the said S^r William, in his Commission from y^e said late Proprietor for being Gover^r of Pensylvania, &c. is strictly prohibited to intermeddle with Lands or any other Affairs of Property whatsoever,

Yet, hearing of a Copper Mine in the Proprietor's Lands within the said Province, he went privately with a surveyor, and without any right attempted to Survey a Tract of Land, Including the Place where the said Mine was suppos'd to be, in his own name, and to his own use, and set men to work upon it.

And altho' he knew the soil of the said Province and Countys were then (and still are) vested in Trustees by the s^d late Proprie^r for the Payment of a part of a large Debt contracted in y^e settling and improving the s^d Province and

Countys, which Trustees, with y^e^ assent and approbation of the said late Proprietor Penn, appointed Commissioners in Pensylvania to dispose of Lands, and receive the Quit-Rents of that Country, for y^e^ use of the s^d^ Trustees towards Payment of the s^d^ Debt and Interest;

Yet y^e^ s^d^ Gov^r^ Keith, in order to Establish his Title to the s^d^ Tract of Land and suppos'd Copper Mine, attempted to get a return of the said survey (tho' not finish'd) entered in the Councill books, but the same being opppos'd by all the Members of the Councill except two, as being a Breach of his Commission and Instructions, and against the known Laws and Constitution of the s^d^ Province, he thereupon told them he wanted not their Concurrence, for he did not hold himself oblig'd to take their advice, but call'd them there as solemn Witnesses of his acts; and added further, he knew no Power in that Government to sell Lands or manage the Affairs of Property Except himself, which has had a very fatal Effect upon the Proprietor's Affairs in y^t^ Country ever since. Y^e^ s^d^ S^r^ W^m^ either removing all the Proprietor's Friends from any Places of Trust in that Government, or otherwise discountenancing them, so that they could not be of any service to his Affairs there, which was ill taken by the Generality of the People of that Province.

But in the year 172* in conjunction with the meanest and needy people of the Governm^t^ who are always a Majority, set a Project on foot to get a paper Currency Established by an Act of Assembly, and to bring this to pass, in his Public Speeches he inveyed much against those whom he called rich men as Persons having a design of enslaving the Poor honest Laborious part of Mankind, and therefore they ought to be upon their Guard, so that, by such management, he stirr'd up a very great uneasiness in the Minds of

the Common People thro' the whole Province, and it had the desired effect, for they chose an Assembly, that year, consisting generally of such as were very much indebted.

In the year 1722 the s[d] S[r] William with the said Assembly passed an act for emitting the sum of £15,000 paper money to be lent on the security of the People's Lands in that Province. Great opposition was made to this act by the Majority of the Councill, but the use he made of that was only to animate the Assembly and Common People still the more against the Councill, who ffirst proposed that the act should be sent home for his Majesty's Royall Approbation before it should take Effect.

2ndly. That all sums of Money due or Payable to his Majesty should be excepted out of the act.

3rdly. That all the Debts due to the Proprietor's and English merchants should be excepted.

—but all was rejected.

In 1723 he again, together with the Assembly, made another act for emitting £30,000 paper money, and immediately after he had passed the said Act he acquainted the Assembly of the necessity there was to raise money for an Agent in England to stand by those Acts and to prevent their being damned, and in order to prevail upon them to send a sum of Money to Mr. Beake, to solicit the getting the Royall Assent to these acts for a Paper Currency, he communicated to the Assembly a Letter from the Board of Trade in Britain, which he had received long before that session of Assembly, advising him against making any paper money, and made a merit of obliging the Assembly, at the hazard of disobliging the Lords of trade, &c.

J. Logan who has been Secretary of the Province of Pensylvania, appointed by the late Proprietor himself about the year 1700, and chief Commissioner of Property for the

said Proprietor and Trustees, came to England in the year 1723, and tho' he had been ill used by the said S^r^ William for Endeavouring to support the Proprietor's rights instead of getting the said S^r^ William removed from the Governm^t^, he only procured a private letter of Instructions from Mrs. Penn to the said Governour; hoping the same might have a good effect upon him, in which instructions he was required to take the advice of his Councill, (who were always supposed to be People of the best Condition in the Province, and ffriends to the said Proprietor,) in all matters of moment and in Legislation. It is true the Councill by the Present Constitution, are no part of the Legislature, yet the Proprietor himself, when he was on the spot, did and his Deputys since have always been enjoyn'd to take the Advice ofthe Council as Men of the best Abilitys and interest in the Province, which they have for the most part observed.

His letter from Mrs Penn was privately deliver'd to the Governour by the said J. Logan, but he, instead of keeping it secret, talked of it publickly as an invasion of the People's rights and Priviledges, and he wrot a letter to Mrs Penn, by Coll Spotswood, his great Friend, late Governour of Virginia, which came not to her hands till some time in December 1724, in which with great Haughtiness and disregard he tells Mrs. Penn he cannot observe her instructions, because they are not only repugnant to the Constitution but inconsistent and contradictory in themselves; and instead of waiting untill he could have an answer from Mrs. Penn, he in a speech to the Assembly in January 1725, exposed the said private instructions to the Assembly and the letter he had wrot to M^rs^ Penn, and made a merit of his having opposed the Proprietary Interest to serve them, and secure to them their Priviledges against such unjust

attempts, and by all the ways and means in his power, both by Speeches and Messages inflamed the Assembly to that Degree, that they passed a Vote that some part of the Widow Penn's Instructions were contradictory to, and an infringement of the Libertys and Privileges by Charter granted to the People of this Province.

He has continued ever since, notoriously to decry the right of the Proprietor's Family and Expose the Commissioners of Property, and sending his Emissarys about to get Petitions in his Favour from the people, denys the Authority of Mr Penn's Family, and is Endeavouring to deprive them of both the Governm^{t} and Property of the 3 Lower Counties.

Coll Spottwood upon his arrival in England (Mrs Penn being indispos'd) deliver'd S^{r} William's Letters to and afterwards at a Meeting with two of her Sons, insisted on S^{r} William's being continued in his Governm^{t}, and he would undertake S^{r} William should have a due regard to their Instructions, but upon their declining to give him any Assurance of his continuance, he then told them that if they proceeded to remove S^{r} William from the Governm^{t} of Pensylvania, he had something in his power which he got at New York that he would put in Execution much to our prejudice.

The whole Family receiving daily Accounts from Pensylvania of the Governour's continuing to Act in direct opposition to their Interest, and to persecute some of the Commiss^{rs} of Property, did agree that Springet Penn the Heir at Law, should, with the consent and advice of the said Mrs. Penn, Commissionate Major Gordon to be Deputy Governour of Pensylvania, the Earl Powlet having declin'd acting, tho' requested by both sides of the Family, untill the Controversy about the Will of the late Proprietor be determin'd.

The said Major Gordon is accordingly commissionated by Springet Penn, and on Saturday last was presented by Petition to the King in Council for his Majesty's Royall approbation, in the same manner as it has been allways granted, which was opposed by two Petitions, one from Col. Spotswood on behalf of S^{r} William, and another from S^{r} William's Creditors.

N. B. Tho' paper money has been made in New England, N. Y., and Carolina, yet it was always on pretence to pay publick debts contracted in some Indian Warr, or to support some warr against y^{e} ffrench or Indians, neither of which ever happen'd in Pensylvania.

Note to page 38 *by Gov*^{r} *Hamilton.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

APPOINTED TO EXAMINE

THE MINUTE BOOK

OF

The Society for Political Inquiries.

Read at a Meeting of the Council, March 18, 1829.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE, &c.

To the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The committee appointed to examine the Minute Book of the "Society for Political Inquiries," have the pleasure of presenting the result of the attention they have given to the duty assigned them in the following report.

The history of any endeavour to increase the stock of useful knowledge, and to promote the welfare of the human race, is interesting, as it displays the action of the nobler principles of the nature of man. The importance of the particular enterprise, the character of those engaged in it, the time and circumstances, may all conspire to excite additional interest. In reviewing the history of our own country, it is grateful to contemplate, not only the public acts of men whom we have been accustomed to revere, but also the schemes upon which their minds have been employed, during the intervals of official and professional occupations: to perceive how patriotism and the love of knowledge animated their friendly intercourse, and prompted them to form associations for the advancement of science and the benefit of their fellow citizens.

The society, whose records have been committed to us for examination, was instituted but a few years after the

efforts of our fathers to maintain the independence they had asserted, had been crowned with success. The storm of war had passed, and had left all serene and pure. The American people looked around upon the fair scene of political happiness presented to their view, delighting in the possession of its enjoyment, and indulging brilliant anticipations of the future. But some of the more reflecting, not satisfied with a moment of joy, nor with imaginations that might lead to disappointment, felt anxious to secure the permanence of the blessings they had obtained, and by progressive improvement to render the happiness of the nation more perfect.

Such were those who originated this association. They felt the importance of understanding fully their new condition, and of acquiring such information as would enable them to guard against unseen dangers. It was not enough, in their opinion, that the rule of a foreign power had been cast off. The following extracts from the preamble of their constitution well express their sentiments and motives.

"Accustomed," say they, "to look up to those nations from whom we have derived our origin, for our laws, our opinions, and our manners; we have retained, with undistinguishing reverence, their errors with their improvements; have blended with our public institutions the policy of dissimilar countries; and have grafted on an infant commonwealth, the manners of ancient and corrupted monarchies."

"In having effected a separate government, we have yet accomplished but a partial independence. The revolution can only be said to be complete, when we shall have freed ourselves, no less from the influence of foreign prejudices than from the fetters of foreign power; when, breaking through the bounds in which a dependent people have been

accustomed to think and act, we shall properly comprehend the character we have assumed, and adopt those maxims of policy which are suited to our new situation."

With these views they associated for the purpose of "mutual improvement in the knowledge of government and the advancement of political science." The objects of the association were proposed to be attained by receiving and causing to be read at the meetings, essays, statements of facts, and observations relating to subjects of government and political economy; and by discussing in conversation political queries suggested by the members.

As an inducement to men of talent and information to bestow attention upon subjects of this kind, it was provided by an article of the Constitution, that "medals should be adjudged, at the discretion of the society, to the authors (whether members or not) of the best essays, upon such subjects as the society may propose for that purpose. The votes in these cases to be taken by ballot." A successful competitor for a medal, if not a member, was also to be admitted of course to honorary membership.

The first meeting was held at the City tavern, on the 9th February, 1787, when "laws and regulations for their government" were adopted and subscribed by the gentlemen present. Several of those whose signatures appear in the minute-book, were not original members, but were elected after the organization of the society. In the list are included the names of forty-two gentlemen, generally men of great respectability, and some of them distinguished citizens of Philadelphia: there are now living but five of the number, among whom is the venerable President of the Historical Society.

The first officers, elected on the same evening when the constitution was adopted, were Dr. Benjamin Franklin,

president; George Climer and William Bingham, vice presidents; Robert Hare, treasurer; William Bradford and George Fox, secretaries. The committee of papers chosen at the same time consisted of Benjamin Rush, John Armstrong, William Bradford, Francis Hopkinson, W. T. Franklin, and William Rawle. After the first meeting, the society, at the president's request, met at his residence, and their sessions were held every Friday fortnight from September to June.

Between the time of the society's organization and the close of its first session, a number of papers, upon subjects of great interest, were presented. We notice on the minutes the titles which follow.

March 9th. ' An Enquiry into the influence of Public Punishments, upon criminals and society." By Dr. Rush.

April 20th. " An Enquiry into the best means of encouraging Immigration, consistently with the happiness and safety of the original citizens." By Mr. Rawle.

" An Essay on the Balance of Trade." By Mr. John Williams.

" An Essay on the Incorporations of Towns." By Mr. Paine.

May 11. " An Enquiry into the Principles on which a Commercial System for the U. States of America should be founded." By Mr. T. Coxe.

May 25th. " An Essay upon the Advantages resulting to a nation from the cheerful temper of its Inhabitants." By Rev. N. Collins.

On one evening during this period, it appears, a discussion of queries proposed by the president took place; but what these queries were, we are not informed. Besides the reading of essays and discussion of questions, conversation occupied a portion of the time at the meetings.

The first meeting in the fall, at which any business of moment was transacted, was on the 9th Nov. when there was proposed for discussion a question which might be made a subject of serious consideration at the present time, viz.

"What is the extent of the liberty of the press consistent with public utility? If it should have limits, what are they? Is the liberty of attacking private character in the newspapers of any utility to society?" This was the subject of conversation at the next meeting.

On the 14th Dec. 1787, the society resolved to select questions for prize essays, and to offer as a premium to each successful competitor, a plate of gold of the value of ten guineas, with a suitable device and inscription. One question was immediately agreed on: "What is the best system of taxation for constituting a revenue, in a commercial, agricultural and manufacturing country?" A second was proposed and at first approved, but the form in which it should be expressed became the subject of debate at several subsequent meetings; and was not finally determined until the 9th May, when it was passed as follows: "How far may the interposition of government be advantageously directed to the regulation of agriculture, manufactures and commerce?"

Whilst the prize questions attracted the principal attention of the society, other subjects were occasionally introduced. A conversation was held on the question, "whether the study of the Latin and Greek languages is proper in the degree in which it is now pursued?" The minutes do not state who was the proposer, but he was probably Dr. Rush. The only essay noticed during this session, was one by Dr. Collin on "the Means of promoting Industry."

A committee appointed to prepare an advertisement announcing the questions for premiums and the terms of

competition, reported 9th May, and the secretary was directed to have their report inserted in two public newspapers, in the "Magazine" and in the "Museum."

The conditions were to this effect. 1. The essays to be written in English, French, or German. 2. To be transmitted on or before the 1st Jan. 1789 to the president, with a sealed letter containing the author's name and residence—the essay and letter being distinguished by a motto, &c. 3. All communications from candidates to be referred to a committee, who shall select those they may deem the most proper to be laid before the society at large. 4. The society, at an appointed time, to adjudge the premiums, after determining by vote whether any of the essays then under consideration are deserving. 5. No member who may be a competitor, or who shall not have previously considered the comparative merits of the several essays, shall vote in awarding the premiums. 6. Letters accompanying rejected essays to be returned unopened. 7. Premiums to be oval plates of standard gold of ten guineas value, having on one side a device and motto, on the other an inscription of a suitable kind, with the date, &c.

The third session commenced in Oct. 1788, but the members were remiss in attendance, and seem to have lost much of their zeal, or to have had their attention drawn to other matters: this was evinced by a proposal to make the meetings less frequent.

Two essays, one in German, the other in English, by competitors for the premiums, were laid before the society on the 13th Feb. 1789. The latter had been published before the society's advertisement had issued, and for that cause its consideration was postponed. The former was referred to a committee for the purpose of being translated, and upon the gentlemen appointed declining to undertake the

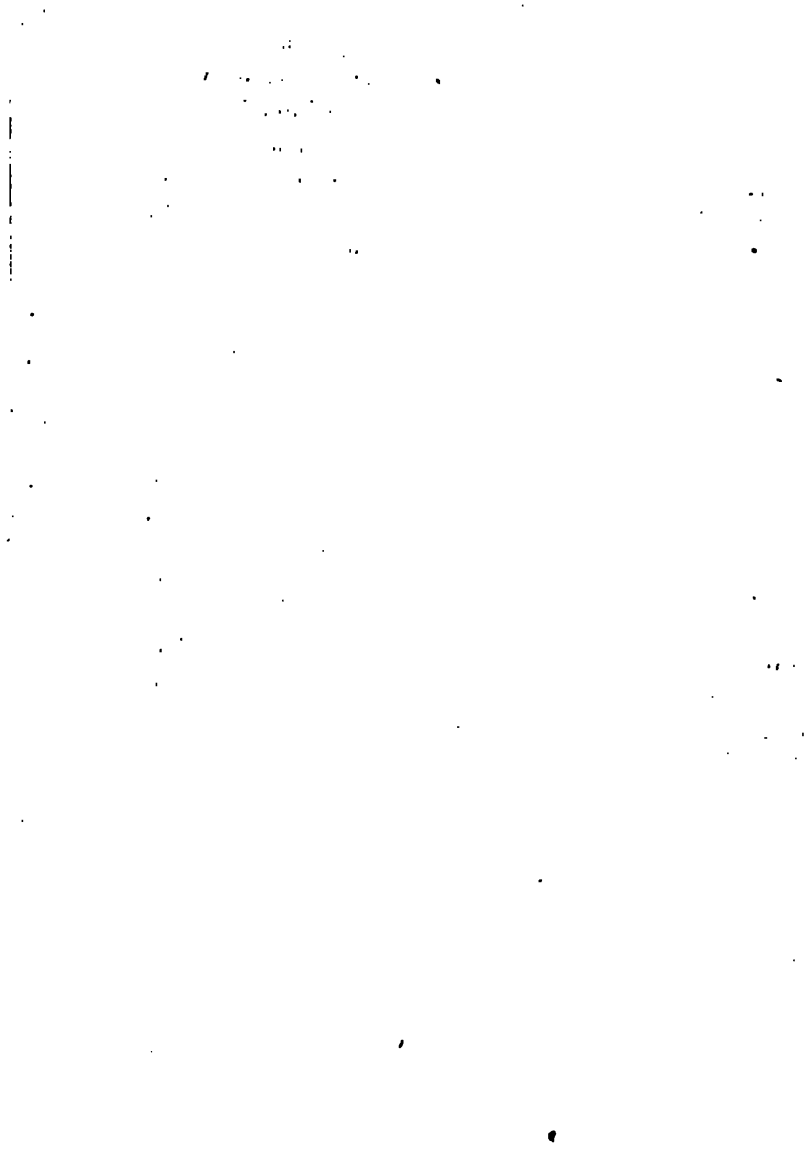
task, the secretary was authorised to employ a translator. Dr. Collin was requested to revise the translation when completed, and a special meeting was ordered to take place when the essay should be ready for the consideration of the society. Under date 9th May, we find the minute following: "The translation of the German essays was produced, and the first read through. Mr. Weiss's bill was then taken under consideration; the charge declared exorbitant; and the secretary desired to inform him, that the society look upon it as such, and cannot think of giving more than eight dollars."

"Adjourned to"

Thus abruptly terminate the minutes. We have no further account of the fate of either the German or English essay. The society had been for some time languishing, and expired in the burst of indignation against the exorbitance of Mr. Weiss. But though the circumstances of the times caused the dissolution of the association, many of its members individually continued to prosecute inquiries in political economy; and have, through the medium of the press, and in legislative debates, contributed to enlighten and to benefit their fellow citizens, whose welfare had been the object of their union.

March 18th, 1829.

GEORGE W. SMITH.
WILLIAM B. DAVIDSON.



SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

EARLY POETS AND POETRY

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY

JOSHUA FRANCIS FISHER.

"Quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque Poetæ."

MART.

Read at a Meeting of the Council, July 15, 1829.

Some Account

OF THE

EARLY POETS AND POETRY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

"Quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque Poetæ."—MART.

In the following account of the early poetry of Pennsylvania, I have endeavoured to collect all the facts still extant which can illustrate this interesting department of our literary history. Although I have had access to but few sources of information, I shall at least be able to present a longer catalogue of poets than has yet been published, and to mention several productions which have met with unmerited neglect.

It was, at first, my intention to select specimens from the poems of each author, and to copy some of the best anonymous pieces which from time to time appeared in the periodicals; but the present paper may be considered too long even without these extracts; and perhaps, its object will be best answered by directing the attention of others to the original publications from which every native Pennsylvanian cannot fail to derive a high gratification.*

* I must therefore observe, in justice to the memory of our early poets, as well as to my own taste, that the verses which may be quoted in the following pages, have been selected only as illustrative of the narrative, and are in no instance to be considered as specimens of our best provincial poetry.

The cultivation of poetry seems, at least in the British race, the strongest evidence of refinement. Among them, it was not the growth of a barbarous age, and it never was the pleasure of the humble. To discover, therefore, amongst our colonists a taste for poetry, will do much to vindicate their claim to literary advancement and intellectual refinement. That this taste existed, is to be proved, not so much by adducing one or two brilliant displays of genius, as by naming numerous and successive efforts, which, although only partially successful in their day, and altogether unworthy at the present of our admiration, establish nevertheless the fact of the constant cultivation of the art; and assure us that the best poetry of England was sought for, read, admired, and imitated, not only frequently, but constantly by men who have been stigmatized as unpolished, illiterate, and rude.

The first twenty years of our colonial history produced, it is probable, but little poetry—nothing which deserves the name has descended to us. The exalted and cultivated minds of some of the first settlers were no doubt often possessed with sublime imaginations, inspired by the native grandeur of the wilderness; or, when recollecting the beautiful homes of their youth, were filled with tender emotions nearly allied to poetry—but their duties were imperious, the hours spared from private labour were engrossed by public affairs; and, while we thank them for the institutions they have established, we must regret that little remains of theirs but an honourable name.

But the second generation, relieved from the toils of settlement in the forest—reposing under liberal establishments and laws framed by the enlightened wisdom of the founder and his companions—and reaping plenty from rich and beautiful fields cleared by the labour of their fathers—first, turned their eyes to Heaven in thankfulness, and then to Par-

nassus for inspiration to celebrate the beauty and delights of their happy country. Although it cannot be denied, that the tuneful inhabitants of that sacred hill rarely descended into the green valleys of our province, or that

erubuit sylvas habitare Thalia;

still their smiles were not altogether withheld from their rustic votaries, and this was quite encouragement enough. During the early part of the 18th century, several poets flourished in Pennsylvania, whose lines merited the approbation of their contemporaries. Few of these productions are now to be discovered, and those which are found in print were, it is probable, by no means the best. We must look for them in the Almanacs—a strange place to seek for poetry —but at that early day they were the only publications to which rhymes could obtain admittance; and certainly never since have Almanacs been embellished with better verses. They are for the most part greatly deficient in poetic graces, but some of them may certainly with justice be commended for sprightliness and ease.

The want of a periodical sheet was felt by those modest geniuses, who, not confident of the intrinsic merit of their pieces, would have been happy to trust to the generosity of the public an unfathered offspring, which might not obtain favour for an acknowledged author.

The invitations of the editors of our two earliest newspapers were eagerly accepted by a score of nameless sons of Apollo. Scarcely a week passed that some new attempt at rhyming was not made; or, to speak more appropriately, that our ancestors did not hear some young Orpheus beginning to take lessons on the lyre. These first strains certainly were not always melodious. The first poetry of Pennsylvania may generally be characterised as inelegant,

unharmonious, and spiritless; yet, there were several brilliant exceptions, which surprise us by their sweetness and vivacity, and were beyond a doubt the productions of cultivated and refined minds. There are many verses which would not discredit any English author of the last century, and still may be read with pleasure; and although, perhaps, they have not enough of originality or brilliancy to deserve a reproduction in an age overstocked with all the lighter kinds of literature, may certainly be noticed with satisfaction, and referred to with pride.

The earliest rhythmical production of our province which was committed to print; at least, the first of which we have any notice, has the following title: "A Paraphrastical Exposition on a Letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia to his friend in Boston, concerning a certain person who compared himself to Mordecai." It was printed in the year 1693, in a small quarto of eight pages. It is to be regretted that neither the name of the author nor of the printer is attached. The piece is of extreme rarity, and all the criticism that I am able to furnish is, "That it was a bitter attack upon Samuel Jennings, and that the lines are destitute of the spirit and almost without the form of poetry."

In James Logan's defence of his conduct against the charges of the assembly, which he wrote previous to his embarkation for England in 1709, I find mention of a WILLIAM RAKESTRAW, who, two years before (1707), had published "several scurrilous libels and *rhymes* against the proprietor" and his secretary, for which he was judicially sentenced "to make satisfaction." Of these libellous rhymes we have no further notice, and their recovery I presume is not to be hoped for.

We are indebted to Mr. John Parke, an officer of Washington's army, and a gentleman of classical acquirements

and cultivated taste, for the preservation of a poetic translation of some of Anacreon's Odes, and of two of Ovid's Elegies, "by the learned and facetious DAVID FRENCH, Esquire, late of Delaware Counties" (now state.) "They had been consigned," says Mr. Parke, "to oblivion through the obliterating medium of rats and moths, under the sequestered canopy of an antiquated trunk." Some of them were written as early as 1718, and are therefore amongst the earliest, as they are of the best colonial poetry we are likely to discover. They are, undoubtedly, the composition of a man of learning and of taste. They discover a familiar acquaintance with the classical authors, and are so elegant and fluent in their style, that we cannot but believe Mr. French to have been a practised writer of English poetry. Fame, however, has been for once unjust, and posterity has none of his original verses to admire.

All that I find of his history is contained in the following postscript of a letter dated August 25th, 1742: "David French was buried yesterday in Chester church by the side of his father, and Mr. Moxon succeeds him as prothonotary" (of the court at New Castle.) His father was, doubtless, Col. John French, a gentleman very distinguished in the lower counties, and whose name frequently occurs in our early annals.

AQUILA ROSE has been often named as one of the first who gained reputation as a poet in Pennsylvania. He was an Englishman by birth. At an early age, and in great poverty, he emigrated to this province, where he found employment and a wife. He was the principal workman in Bradford's printing office, and was clerk to the assembly when he died, the 24th of the 4th month (June) 1723, aged 28 years. Franklin says, "he was an ingenious young man, and of an excellent character, highly esteemed in the town,

and also a very tolerable poet." It may be regretted that although, in the words of one of his admirers, we have received

> " his name,
> Preserved to late posterity by fame,"

we have no opportunity to judge of his verses. Keimer, in his elegy, says that he was master of

> " The French and Latin, Greek and Hebrew too;"

but I cannot rely upon the eulogium given in that curious production—as I am inclined to suspect that Keimer was guided in his praises by the exigencies of his rhymes rather than by the character of his friend.

It may be considered some compensation for the loss of Aquila Rose's poetry, that his death gave occasion to no less than three Elegies which have descended to us. The first we meet with is a kind of eclogue, printed in the Mercury, June 25th, 1724, which was " done by Elias Bockett of London." It is written in what Keimer calls " a melting florid strain," but as a composition is far superior to his.

In Feb. 23d, 1723-4, another piece does honour to the memory of our poet. It is presumed that the bashfulness of some *native* Pennsylvanian introduced his " Elegy on the sight of Myris' tomb," by the following preface. " The following lines were left with the printer by an intimate friend of A. R. deceased, who, touching at Philadelphia, on his way to Great Britain, had but time to hear a relation of his friend's death, view the place of his interment, and write, without revising 'em, the following lines."

He begins with the most pathetic lamentations, and an appeal to almost every deity of antiquity. He then descends

to the dryads and naiads, and thus apostrophises our river:

> With pleasure we behold, O Delaware!
> Thy woody banks become the Muses' care,
> Thy docile youth were with her beauty fired,
> And folly, vice, and ignorance retired:
> And had but Myris lived, we hoped to see
> A new Arcadia to arise on thee.

The panegyric on Myris is very extravagant. He possessed, of course, every virtue, and his poems every grace. We might do the latter more than justice, were we to credit all the encomiums in this elegy. "Love," it informs us was "Myris' favourite theme;" and although his poetry was no doubt "able to persuade the fair" of our then rural city, it might run the risk of being pronounced by our more fastidious tastes rather pretty than "elegant," more affected than "tender."

The well known elegy of Keimer's, remarkable as having never been written but "set in types, as the verses flowed from his muse," may be read with some amusement—and we may derive from it some curious traits of early manners. It has lately been reprinted, and deserved it as a curiosity.

Samuel Keimer was a remarkable character; and although his history is familiar to every one who has read Franklin's delightful auto-biography, he is not to be passed unnoticed in an account of our early poets.

Little is known of his early life. He promised in one of his publications "to present to the world for its entertainment an account of his sufferings under the character of 'the white negro,'" but soon afterwards he quitted the province, and probably never accomplished the work. He received, if we may believe himself, a learned education—and in a very scurrilous piece printed in the Mercury, January,

1726, Jacob Taylor particularly ridicules his charlatanism and boasting, and thus addresses him: "Thy constant care and labour is to be thought a finished philosopher and universal scholar, never forgetting to talk of the Greek, and Hebrew, and other oriental tongues, as if they were as natural to thee as hooting to an owl." He learnt the business of a compositor in London, and was for some time established there as a printer. But he appears to have been unfortunate in trade, and over-burthened with the support of a wife. During the great excitement which the preaching of the first Methodists produced in Great Britain, he became as one of "the French prophets," an unsuccessful rival of those preachers who were destined to effect the most extensive schism which has ever mortified the church of England. He was equally unfortunate in his new employment. He suffered with his fellow-impostors, and was glad to escape from his wife and persecution together in a vessel bound to Philadelphia. Here he arrived, it is probable, late in the year 1731—and the first notice we have of him is an advertisement of February 5th, 1722, which I shall quote entire: for, whether it were, as his enemies asserted, that his only object was notoriety, or that he was really actuated by benevolent motives, the first attempt to elevate the character, and meliorate the condition of an oppressed race, well deserves to be recorded.

"Take notice.—There is lately arrived in this city, a person who freely offers his service to teach his poor brethren the **Male Negroes** to read the Holy Scriptures, &c. in a very *uncommon*, *expeditious*, and *delightful manner*, without any manner of expense to their respective masters or mistresses. All serious persons, whether *Roman Catholics*, *Episcopalians*, *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Water-Baptists*, or people called *Quakers*, who are truly concerned for their sal-

vation, may advise with the said person at his lodgings (relating to the time and place of his so instructing them) at the dwelling-house of *John Read*, carpenter, in *High street*, at *Philadelphia*, every morning till eight of the clock, except on the **Seventh Day**." The advertisement ends with the following verses, which may be considered a favourable specimen of Keimer's poetry—

> The Great **Jehovah** from above,
> Whose *Christian Name* is **Light** and **Love**,
> In all his Works *will* take Delight,
> And wash poor *Hagar's* **Black Moors** white.
>
> Let none condemn this undertaking
> By *silent thoughts*, or *noisy speaking*;
> They 're fools whose bolt's soon shot upon
> The mark they 've looked but little on.

Whether he carried his scheme into execution, I have not been able to discover; he certainly kept it in view three years afterwards: for, from some wretched rhymes which form part of the piece of Taylor's above referred to, it seems he was at that time making application for a room in which to teach his black pupils—on which occasion, he is thus assailed by his enemy—

> A school for thee! a most commodious place
> To nod, and wink, and point with such a grace—
> Thy black disciples, now immerged in folly,
> Shall start our clerks, and read, and speak like Tully:
> The preference to the sable sort belongs:
> The white man next must learn the sacred tongues.
> Thus, in just order are thy legions led
> To realms of science, *Keimer* at their head.

Through his whole sojourn in our province, he seems to have been borne down by poverty and disasters—and the

constant object of ridicule. In a paragraph of his paper, written after his release from prison, to which he had been dragged from his bed by his creditors, he gives the following account of his persecutions by calumny and misfortunes. "It certainly must be allowed somewhat strange, that a person of strict sincerity, refined justice, and universal love to the whole creation, should, for a series of near 20 years, be the constant butt of slander, as to be three times ruined as a master printer, to be nine times in prison, one of which was six years together, and often reduced to the most wretched circumstances, hunted as a partridge upon the mountains, and persecuted with the most abominable lies the devil himself could invent or malice utter; and yet all this while never any wise, good, or even honest man has been his enemy, or knew any evil of him, bating the little mistakes or peccadilloes of human nature." With all these professions, it must be believed that he was a knave at heart; and yet he turned his knavery to little account; for as long as we can trace his history, he was equally wretched, and when he fled from Barbadoes he was again a bankrupt. Franklin tells an anecdote of Keimer so characteristic of them both, that I shall, I am sure, be excused for quoting it. "He formed," says Franklin, "so high an opinion of my talents for refutation, that he seriously proposed to me to become his colleague in the establishment of a new religious sect. He was to propagate the doctrine by preaching, and I to refute every opponent.

"When he explained to me his tenets, I found many absurdities which I refused to admit, unless he would agree in turn to adopt some of my opinions. Keimer wore his beard long, because Moses had some where said, 'Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard.' He likewise observed the Sabbath; and these were with him two very essential points.

I disliked them both; but I consented to adopt them, provided he would agree to abstain from animal food. I doubt, said he, whether my constitution will be able to support it. I assured him on the contrary, that he would find himself the better for it. He was naturally a glutton, and I wished to amuse myself by starving him. He consented to make trial of this regimen, if I would bear him company; and in reality we continued it for three months. I continued it cheerfully; poor Keimer suffered terribly. Tired of the project, he sighed for the flesh-pots of Egypt. At length he ordered a roast pig, and invited me and two of our female acquaintances to dine with him; but the pig being ready a little too soon, he could not resist the temptation, and eat it all up before we arrived."

I have noticed several of Keimer's rhythmical productions. Several other pieces remain, but they are beneath criticism.

That BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was the author of verses, is somewhat surprising, for there has, perhaps, rarely existed a genius less poetical than his. The only one of his pieces deserving any commendation which I have seen, is a kind of jeu d'esprit, entitled "Paper." Those who recollect it, need not be told that even this is not very remarkable for its poetry or its wit. In his autobiography he speaks of some ballads which he wrote when a boy, and an examination of his almanacs would reward the search with a number of short pieces by our philosopher, which, though they have very small pretensions, have certainly as little merit. The mind of Dr. Franklin was, without doubt, richly endowed with useful qualities; but it possessed no imagination and little enthusiasm; and had he been ambitious of the fame of a poet, he could only have diminished his reputation as a moralist and a philosopher.

The name of JACOB TAYLOR has already been mentioned. He is supposed to have been originally a printer; for, in the year 1712, he was sent for by the House of Representatives, and consulted about printing the laws. He afterwards kept a mathematical school in this city; and, it is said, was at the same time a successful practitioner of physic. He was at one time Surveyor General of the province—but appears to have soon retired from office, and during the latter part of his life was a resident in Chester county.

His chief reputation was as an almanac maker, and before the publication of Franklin's well known production, his almanac was the best and most popular of several issued by the Philadelphia press. In his Ephemeris for 1736, when he was in extreme old age, he says, "It is now forty years since I published astronomical calculations, which I have frequently continued, but not without several intermissions." He died shortly after the publication of this almanac. I have already quoted some lines of Taylor's which formed part of an attack on Keimer, who had, without authority from the former, affixed his name to what he denominates "a filthy foolish pamphlet called a compleat Ephemeris." He continues his attack on Keimer with any thing but the calmness of an astronomer; and he, perhaps, surpasses the poor printer in what he calls his "matchless talent at scandal, without a grain of common sense or modesty." Taylor appears to have been the contributor not only of the astronomical calculations, but of the poetic embellishments of the almanacs published under his name; and some of the pieces have considerable merit—but his imagination does not seem to have caught from his favourite study any high degree of inspiration—for its flights were never remarkable for their vigour or sublimity.

Some of his verses were, however, neither rude nor inelegant, and in harmony and spirit nearly approached to the poetry of standard authors. The longest of his pieces is entitled "*Pennsylvania*," and was published in 1728. It may be considered one of the best descriptive poems which the beauties and blessings of our province inspired. In the "Story of Whackum," he ridicules in a lively manner the country quacks, who, in spite of the increase of regular physicians, retained their influence amongst the illiterate vulgar. And in another poem, which is one of his best, he attacks the professors of judicial astrology, of whom it seems there were several in the colony. To "Bachelor's hall," a poem by George Webb, are prefixed some of Taylor's verses in praise of its author—but they have little merit. I shall add some lines, written by a contemporary, containing a character of our astronomer's poetry—though I am not satisfied that the criticism is just—

> With years oppress'd and compass'd round with woes,
> A muse with fire fraught yet Taylor's shows;
> His fancy's bold, harmonious are his lays,
> And were he more correct he'd reach the bays.

These lines are part of a satirical production, entitled "the Wits and Poets of Pennsylvania." Part I. which was printed in the Mercury, April 1731. The author unfortunately was afraid to subscribe his name, and we have still more to regret that he speaks of five only of his fellow-votaries of the Muses. The poem itself holds a respectable place among the native productions of the day—and I shall make use of it in my notice of the three following bards.

The first poet in this catalogue, is JOSEPH BRIENTNALL—a scrivener by profession, and a respectable member of the society of Friends. He was, I believe, the first secretary of

the City Library Company, and is named amongst the earliest members of the Junto. In his account of that club, Franklin thus describes him. "He was a middle aged man, of a good natural disposition, strongly attached to his friends, a great lover of poetry, reading every thing that came in his way, and writing tolerably well, ingenious in many little trifles, and of an agreeable conversation." He continued, in a creditable manner, the essays of the Busy Body, of which Franklin had written the first five—and we may, I presume, attribute to him the rhymed description of Market street which forms part of the 18th No. Some verses to the author of Bachelor's Hall are the only other poem of Brientnall's I can discover, and it justifies the following character given by his brother poet:—

> For choice of diction I should Brientnall choose,
> For just conceptions and a ready muse;
> Yet is that muse too laboured and prolix,
> And seldom on the wing knows where to fix.
> So strictly regular is every rise,
> His poems lose the beauty of surprise,
> In this his flame is like a kitchen fire,
> We see the billets cast which mount it higher.

George Webb was distinguished as a poet in his day. He seems to have been patronised by the gentlemen of fashion, and his poem of "Bachelor's hall" was written in a sense of gratitude to the members of a celebrated club which met at an edifice in the neighbourhood of the Treaty tree, and which had the reputation of any thing but morality among the quiet inhabitants of our city. Webb in his poem vindicates the society of bachelors from the charge of debauchery, and claims for their hall the character of a temple of science and virtue.

Tis not the revel, or lascivious night,
That to this hall the bachelors invite;
Much less shall impious doctrines here be taught;
Blush, ye accusers, at the very thought!
For other, O! far other ends designed,
To mend the heart and cultivate the mind.

It is altogether a very creditable performance. It consists of about one hundred lines, and was printed in folio and sold at the new printing office (Franklin's) MDCCXXXI. Webb published in 1728 a short poem in praise of Pennsylvania —and many of the best pieces in the Universal Instructor and Pennsylvania Gazette were, without doubt, written by him—as he was engaged in that publication with Keimer, but I have not been able to identify any of them.

I can neither add to, nor improve the history of George Webb as given by Dr. Franklin, and I therefore quote the following: "He was an Oxford scholar" "whose service Keimer had purchased for four years, intending him for a compositor." "He was then not more than eighteen years of age, and the following are the particulars he gave me of himself. Born at Gloucester, he had been educated at a grammar school, and had distinguished himself among the scholars by his superior style of acting, when they represented dramatic performances. He was member of a literary club in the town; and some pieces of his composition, in prose as well as verse, had been inserted in the Gloucester papers. From hence he was sent to Oxford, where he remained about a year; but he was not contented, and wished to see London, and become an actor. At length having received fifteen guineas to pay his quarter's board, he decamped with the money from Oxford, hid his gown in a hedge, and travelled to London. There, having no friend to direct him, he fell into bad company, soon squandered his fifteen guineas, could find no way of being

introduced to the actors, became contemptible, pawned his clothes, and was in want of bread. As he was walking along the streets, almost famished with hunger, and not knowing what to do, a recruiting bill was put into his hand, which offered an immediate treat and bounty money to whoever was disposed to serve in America. He instantly repaired to the house of rendezvous, enlisted himself, was put on board a ship and conveyed to America, without ever writing a line to inform his parents what was become of him. His mental vivacity and good natural disposition, made him an excellent companion, but he was indolent, thoughtless, and to the last degree imprudent." He afterwards, by the assistance of a friend, was enabled to purchase his time, and became interested with his former master in the paper which soon afterwards fell into Franklin's hands. He is named amongst the original members of the Junto—but we have no further notice of his existence. I quote from the same anonymous piece, the following character of Webb:

Surely the Muse hath ranged the distant spheres,
And when the Gods were speaking cock't her ears;
Heard the decrees of thunder-flinging Jove,
And then came back and told us all for love:
'Twas *George's* Muse rang'd this unbidden track,
Webb who like *Banloft 's** famed for the best hack;
For through the piece poetic genius shines,
When thoughts sublime meet in harmonious lines:
Where bounding *Pegasus* with loosened rein,
Proud of the course, shewed a well ordered flame.
Pleased with the event a second heat he try'd,
And soar'd, 'tis true, but with a lessened pride.
Some say he got a most confounded fall,
And snapt a leg or two against "the Hall,"
Which the Chimeroans [Cimmerians?] seeing eased his pain,
By paper stamp'd and set all right again.

* William Banloft, a noted stable keeper.

The poet next notices another of his fellow citizens of Parnassus in a strain of satire, which, though really witty, is not quite sufficiently delicate for modern ears. As the person is not named, and I have been unable to discover any verses to which the character is applicable, I do not hesitate to omit it. The poem concludes with the following lines:

> In Brooke's capacious breast the Muses sit,
> Enrobed with sense polite and poignant wit;
> His lines run smoothly though the current' s strong;
> He forms with ease, with judgment sings the song.
> As th' awful elm supports the purpling vines,
> So round his sense his sprightly wit entwines:
> Oh! would he oft'ner write, so should the town
> Or mend their tastes, or lay the Muses down;
> For, after manna who would garbage eat,
> That hath a spark of sense or grain of wit?

The subject of this exalted encomium was Mr. Henry Brooke, a young gentleman of high talents and of finished education. He is said to have been a younger son of Sir Henry Brooke, Bart, and was provided for by a settlement at Lewistown, Sussex county, as collector of the customs. Of his separation from his friends and seclusion from polished society he constantly complains in a series of letters to James Logan, distinguished for their elegance and sprightliness. The only specimen of Brooke's poetry which I have met with is entitled "A Discourse on Jests." It is addressed to Mr. Robert Grace, whom Franklin describes as "a young man of fortune, generous, animated, and witty, fond of epigrams, but more fond of his friends." It rallies him on the subject of "his darling bosome sin a jest" with much good sense and good humour. It may be pronounced a sprightly and pleasant treatise on false wit, and proves its author to have been not only an imitator of good models, but himself

the possessor of a lively wit and a refined taste. Mr. Brooke became very eminent in the lower counties, was for several years Speaker of their assembly, and, in 1720, was appointed a Master in Chancery by Sir W. Keith. He died in 1735, in the 57th year of his age, and the General Magazine of 1741 contains a poetic tribute to his memory, which describes him as an accomplished linguist, and an adept in almost every science.

I must not omit the names of three early friends of Dr. Franklin, who seem to have dedicated some of their hours to the Muses; although the productions of two of them are not now to be discovered, and perhaps did not merit preservation.

"My most intimate acquaintances," says he, "were CHARLES OSBORNE, JOSEPH WATSON, and JAMES RALPH, young men who were all fond of reading. The two first were clerks to Mr. Charles Brockden, one of the principal attorneys of the town; the other clerk to a merchant.

Watson was an upright, pious, and sensible young man: the others were somewhat more loose in their principles of religion, particularly Ralph, whose faith, as well as that of Collins, I had contributed to shake; each of whom made me suffer a very adequate punishment.

Osborne was sensible and sincere, and affectionate in his friendships, but too much inclined to the critic in matters of literature.

Ralph was ingenious and shrewd, genteel in his address, and extremely eloquent. I do not remember to have met with a more agreeable speaker. They were both enamoured of the Muses, and had already evinced their passion by some small poetical productions."

This account introduces an agreeable description of their literary recreations in the retirement of "the woods which

border the Schuylkill, where they read together, and afterwards conversed on what they read." He gives a lively sketch of their poetical competitions, which fixed Ralph at least, in his resolution of becoming a poet. The subsequent history of Ralph, as told by Dr. Franklin, contains some anecdotes which do no great honour to either of them. They went to England together in 1724. There Ralph applied himself professionally to literature, but his choice proved an unfortunate one, and talents which might have gained him high reputation in our province, were overlooked in the British metropolis. Between the years 1730 and 1745 he published several plays, some of which were acted at Drury Lane, but without even a temporary success. The names of four of them are "The Fashionable Lady," "Fall of the Earl of Essex," "The Lawyer's Feast," and "The Astrologer." Depending for his support on these exertions he was constantly disappointed and always in want, and his letters dated at this period were written in all the bitterness of mortification and penury. As a political writer he was somewhat more successful. He was the editor of several scurrilous periodicals, and was a distinguished member of the corps of scribblers who incessantly attacked the measures of the administration. He acted for some time as a partisan of Mr. Doddington, afterwards Lord Melbourne, and enjoyed, it is said, the confidence of the Prince of Wales, then in the ranks of the opposition. But his pen had its price, and was finally purchased or paralysed by a handsome bribe from Mr. Pelham.

In the last literary production of Ralph, "The Case of Authors stated, with regard to Booksellers, the Stage, and the Public," he has described with success the ills and disappointments which he seems to have encountered, and represents the profession of an author as the last a noble and

liberal mind ought to select. Even then, perhaps, he did not suppose that a diligent inquiry for his works would be rewarded only with their titles. The names of some of his poetical efforts are "Zeuma," "Clarinda," "The Muse's Address," &c. A poem called "Sawney," drew down upon him the satire of Pope, embittered perhaps by political animosity; and another piece published some time before, entitled "Night," is referred to by him in the caustic but elegant couplet,—

> Silence, ye wolves, whilst Ralph to Cynthia howls,
> Making Night hideous—answer him, ye owls!

The reputation of Ralph as an historian is more honourable; his history of the reigns of William, Anne, and George the First, gained for him, from Fox, the character "of great acuteness as well as diligence," and is pronounced by Hallam to be the most accurate and faithful history of those times. The folios of this work are not often opened, but they have a place in all our libraries, where they remain the only monument of this early poet of Pennsylvania.

James Ralph died at Chiswick in 1762. If he did not possess the genius of a poet, he at least exhibited talent as a political writer of no mean order. He is praised by his contemporaries for his great application, and is said to have made himself master of the French and Latin, and to have had some knowledge of the Italian language. It is not surprising that his integrity as a writer did not withstand the temptation of a bribe, and his fault is perhaps palliated by his poverty, and the frequent examples of his contemporaries.

Contemporary with most of the writers I have mentioned, was WILLIAM SATTERTHWAITHE, an Englishman by birth, and a man of considerable learning. He is said to have

received collegiate honours, but this is improbable; and the humble station of a village schoolmaster is rarely the lot of a graduate at either of the sister universities. A female pupil was once benighted on her road homewards, he offered her the hospitality of his school-house, and the evening was long enough for their courtship and marriage. The imprudence of the step soon struck them, and they sailed for Pennsylvania in quest of better fortune. They settled in Bucks county, where Satterthwaithe resumed his old employment; but he still was persecuted by fortune; and his poverty was rendered even more bitter by the ill temper of his wife, who, it is said, on one occasion, attempted to poison him. But he sustained his ills with equanimity, and was in the end rewarded; for, it is said, he at last became easy in his circumstances, and his old age was rendered comfortable by the generosity of a patron. This patron was Jeremiah Langhorne, a gentleman of excellent talents, and of liberal mind, who was for many years distinguished in the provincial assembly, filled several of the highest offices, and succeeded James Logan as chief justice.

Several of Satterthwaithe's poems have been transmitted to us; one, denominated "Mysterious Nothing," was written in 1738, at the instance of several young ladies. It is neither witty nor original, but is deficient neither in ease nor in harmony. It was, I believe, republished some years afterwards, and with it was printed "An Elegy on the Death of Jeremiah Langhorne," and a poem on "Providence." He also wrote another piece, entitled "A Religious Allegory of Life and Futurity, addressed to the Youth." His poems, generally, are commendable for the pious sentiments and amiable feelings which run through them. They cannot lay claim to great brilliancy or elegance, but they show their

author to have been an admirer and imitator of the purest models, the poetry of Homer and Virgil.

Every person who has looked through the early numbers of the Mercury, and of the Pennsylvania Gazette, must have noticed several salutatory and panegyrical odes addressed to our Governors and other great men of the province, which have a family rudeness and vulgarity even below the usual mediocrity of similar pieces, and which may, I suppose, be safely attributed to the first *Professional Poet* our country produced. This was JOHN DOMMETT, of whom the only knowledge we possess is derived from an elegy to his memory, printed in the Mercury of July 26th, 1738. The genius of its author was akin to that of the deceased. In strains altogether worthy of him, it praises his wit and good humour, and the fecundity of his muse; but gives him the character of a drunkard, whose wretched life was sustained, and whose vices were encouraged by the bounty of those, to the praise of whom he had devoted his pen. He died at Whitemarsh, July 22d, 1729; and in an epitaph, a postscript to the elegy I have mentioned, the features of his character and fortune are thus summed up:—

> Wealthy whilst rum he had, was John, yet poor
> 'Cause worth but little, rich, 'cause crav'd no more;
> Him England birth, Heaven wit, this Province gave
> Food, Indies drink, Rhymes pence, Whitemarsh a grave.

As a rhymster, the name of John Dommett merits a place in this paper, and though we must pronounce his verses to be amongst the worst which were produced in this province, we ought perhaps to recollect, that there is nothing so rarely well treated, and in which so many men of genius have failed as panegyric. Dommett appears to have written verses on a variety of subjects, but I do not know that any of them have descended to us.

The poets who have been already named in this paper, were many of them Englishmen by birth, of respectable but humble families, though frequently of extensive acquirements, who had sought in our province that competence and ease which might enable them to gratify their taste, and prosecute the studies of their youth. The rest were young Americans of the better provincial families, who, though not deeply learned, discovered in their boyish verses a tincture of the letters which their fathers had brought with them from Britain. An acquaintance with the classics of Rome, and with the popular authors of England, is undoubtedly to be inferred from these compositions; and though they lie under the usual disadvantage of imitations, they not only often emulate the ease and elegance of their models, but at times seem even to have caught no small degree of their spirit. The extent to which poetry was cultivated by our early inhabitants, and the encouragement which it received in all classes, will astonish those who have adopted the current opinions as to our primitive illiterateness; when they recollect that all this was previous to the establishment of our Library and our College, and before even the warmest admirers of Franklin can pretend that Philadelphia received that impulse in every species of improvement which is generally attributed to him. This is the more gratifying, as I do not believe there is one of us who has not been often mortified at the insinuation, that our ancestors owed their very civilization to a single stranger.

I have already mentioned the anonymous pieces which appeared in our newspapers. The merit of several of them is of a very high order; superior certainly to that of most of the acknowledged poems which were printed, and I might refer to three productions of the year 1731, entitled "A Journey from Petapsco to Annapolis," "Verses on the Art of

Printing," and "A Fable, the Dog and the Fox," with a confidence that they would do more than justify my assertion.

Several other poems of that period, prove that their authors were the possessors of most of the poetic qualifications, and well deserved the favour with which our ancestors received them.

The Latin poetry which was written in our colony is not to be passed unnoticed. I recollect but few instances where modern poetry has been able to clothe itself gracefully in Latin verses; and I am certain, I do not hazard much in asserting, that the taste of Horace or Quinctilian would not be satisfied with any modern composition in their native language. Our ignorance of many of its idiomatic niceties has been admitted by the most accomplished scholars, and always render hopeless any competition with our Roman masters; still, we must admire the fluency and accuracy which distinguish the Latin productions of many European scholars, and applaud the success of schoolboys in one of their most difficult and useful exercises. Our early Professors of *Humanity* were not behind their European brethren in their classical compositions; and, without doubt, their well used birches would often set upon their feet the stubborn hexameters of their pupils. But it is time to notice THOMAS MAKIN. He must have been one of the earliest settlers in our colony; for, in 1689, we find him named as an usher under George Keith, in Friends' public grammar school; and in the following year, he succeeded Keith as head master. After this, he was several times chosen clerk of the provincial assembly. Of his obscure and quiet life we have few other particulars. His school in Philadelphia was not very lucrative, and he abandoned it, I believe, for one of the settlements in the interior, where

Pueros elementa docentem
Occupat extremis in vicis balba senectus.

In 1728 and 1729, he dedicated to James Logan two Latin poems, which are still in the collection of MSS. at Stenton, and "which seem to have been written," says Robert Proud, "chiefly for amusement in his old age." One is entitled "Encomium Pennsylvaniæ," and the other "In laudes Pennsylvaniæ poema, seu descriptio Pennsylvaniæ." These poems celebrate the institutions, the productions, and the scenery of our province, in alternate hexameters and pentameters, which have been called rude, but which, at least, deserve praise for metrical correctness and descriptive fidelity. Some extracts from these pieces are to be found in the 2d vol. of Robert Proud's history, who has added a translation in English rhyme.

About the year 1741 lived WILLIAM LOURY, the author, it is supposed, of several Latin odes which were at that time published. His history is entirely unknown, and his name would have been equally so, had it not been subscribed to a piece which has the following title—

"De morte luctuosa celeberrimi Andreæ Hamiltonis Armigeri, qui obiit iv Augusti MDCCXLI."

This was printed in the Pennsylvania Gazette of February 17th, 1742. Another piece which I am inclined to attribute to the same author, is a Carmen Gratularium to Governor Thomas, which appeared the previous year in Franklin's Universal Magazine. The poetry of these compositions I am unable to praise, for it must be admitted that their author has pronounced

"In deep parade of language dead
What would not on his own be read;"

but I should do him injustice, were I not to commend his knowledge and adaptation of the Roman idiom, which, like the weighty panoplies of our ancestors, can never again be used with gracefulness.

But by far the best Latin verses which have been published in Pennsylvania are those of Mr. JOHN BEVERIDGE. He was a native of Scotland, and taught at Edinburgh a Grammar school under the patronage of the celebrated Ruddiman. Amongst his pupils was the blind poet Thomas Blacklock, to whom he sends in some English verses his own reasons for writing poetry, and whose fine Paraphrase of the 104th Psalm he rendered into Latin verse.

It appears that he emigrated to New England in 1752, where he remained five years, and contracted friendships with the famous Dr. Jonathan Mayhew and other eminent scholars. In 1758 he was appointed Professor of Languages in the College and Academy of Philadelphia. His knowledge of Latin was accurate and profound, but he did not possess the art of teaching; and though inclined to be severe, could never command attention nor respect. Some amusing anecdotes of this learned pedagogue are to be found in Mr. Alexander Graydon's interesting memoirs. In 1765 he published by subscription a small collection of Latin poems, entitled "Epistolæ et alia quœdam miscellanea." These consisted of lyrical odes addressed to his friends in Scotland and Massachusetts, of "Carmina Gratularia" to several provincial governors, and of one or two pastorals. Of these the odes are decidedly the best; for although it is impossible to agree with one of his admirers that they prove his ability to "contend with Flaccus on the Roman Lyre," yet they are remarkably easy and lively, and will almost bear without blushing the encomium of Mr. Park, "that they *imitate* the

verses of the first of Latin poets in pureness of language and variety of versification." The panegyrical verses of Mr. Beveridge are as extravagant and inflated as any others of the same class; and, when we recollect that every follower of Theocritus has failed, we will not be surprised that the humble genius of a city schoolmaster could not accomplish even a tolerable pastoral. On the whole, the Latin verses of Beveridge are correct, and to modern ears harmonious; and if they do not prove him to have been a poet, at least do honour to him as a scholar and a man. Along with his Latin effusions are printed two pieces of his English rhyme, but these may justly share the criticism which the others have received.

In the Pennsylvania Gazette of August 2nd, 1736, is printed a Sonnet, and in that of August 12th, an Elegy on the death of Gov. Gordon, written in *French* by Mr. John Solomon. The verses are by no means extraordinary, and all that we know of their author, we learn from an advertisement of June 24th in the same year, in which he professes to be a Parisian, and offers "to teach the Latin and French languages after the most easy and concise method to the gentlemen and ladies of Philadelphia." Mr. Solomon was the third or fourth professor of the French language whom we find established in this city; a fact, which will, I think, excite astonishment when the period and the condition of our province are considered, and which must elevate our opinion of the learning and refinement of our ancestors. At the present day the French language is so universally studied, that it is hardly considered an accomplishment, but at that early period it could only have been learnt as a key to the rich treasures of its literature.

It will not, I think, be out of place to notice that the

German colonists of Pennsylvania were not all destitute of poetic talent. The learning of some of their leaders, it is well known, was extensive and profound; and though we have no reason to suppose that they often descended to amusements so unsuited to their religious gravity as the lighter kinds of poetry, we have several of their devotional effusions which are said to be fine compositions. Among them is a Book of Hymns composed by JOHN KELPIUS, the Hermit, of whom Mr. Watson, in his excellent "Notes on the early History of Germantown," gives an interesting account; and a German paraphrase of several portions of Scripture, which was published in the Pennsylvania Gazette of March 31st, 1742, and is subscribed Gottfried L., Germantown, Dec. 28. Kelpius's hymn book was translated into English verse by CHRISTOPHER WITT, a learned physician and astronomer, who emigrated from England and settled at Germantown in 1704. He was a believer and adept in the Rosicrucian philosophy, and gained great reputation among the Germans as a magus and astrologer.

FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS was a scholar and a poet. He was born in Limpurg in Germany, in 1641, and emigrated in 1683 in the same vessel with Thomas Lloyd, to whom and to whose daughters many of his compositions now extant, are addressed. When he left England it appears he had not acquired the English language, for in one of his poems he speaks of having held conversation with T. Lloyd in Latin, and with William Penn in French. He, however, made himself so complete a master of the English tongue, as to be able to compose rhymes not altogether contemptible. These consist of letters, acrostics, and other poems, addressed to Rachel Preston, Hannah Hill, and Mary Norris, all daughters of his friend T. Lloyd. They compose part of a MS. volume in the possession of Mr. John F. Watson of Germantown.

He also wrote a work which was published in Germany about the year 1700, entitled "A Description of Pennsylvania." He resided in Germantown on the premises now occupied by his descendants, where he had, it is said, extensive vineyards and gardens. He died about the year 1720.

David James Dove is mentioned by Mr. Graydon as a popular satirical poet about the middle of the last century. He was by birth an Englishman, and had, it is said, gained some ludicrous notoriety in his own country. He was established in this city as a schoolmaster before the year 1759, and soon afterwards was appointed English teacher in the Philadelphia Academy; but he disagreed with the trustees, and on the opening of the Germantown Academy in 1762, became head master of that seminary. Another quarrel soon separated him from this institution, and he erected a house on an adjoining lot, where he established an opposition school; but this undertaking was unsuccessful, and shortly abandoned, and we hear no more of Mr. Dove. He is said to have been a good scholar, and distinguished for his powers of elocution. He had an ardent and peculiar temper, and was whimsical even in his discipline. Amongst several amusing instances, Mr. Graydon gives the following: "He had another contrivance for boys who were late in their morning attendance. This was to despatch a committee of five or six scholars for them, with a bell and lighted lantern; and in this odd equippage, in broad day light, the bell all the while tingling, they were conducted to school." As Dove affected strict regard to justice in his dispensations of correction, he once submitted with good humour to the same punishment from his pupils to their no small gratification, and the entertainment of the spectators. As his poetical compositions were generally political or personal satires,

their popularity, though great, was only ephemeral; and I do not know that a copy of a single piece is now to be found. I have heard repeated several lines from a very bitter attack upon William Moore of Moore's Hall, entitled "Washing the Black-a-moor White," written on the occasion of that gentleman's arrest by the assembly.* The verses of Mr. Dove are characterised as bitterly sarcastic, and sometimes pointedly witty, and he perhaps chiefly owed his ill success in this province to his unrestrained propensity to satire.

Several of the poets whose names have already occurred, have received the praise of fluency, elegance, vivacity, or wit. I have not ventured to claim for one of them either brilliant imagination or original genius. I am now to mention one whose deficient education and unpropitious fortunes were compensated by poetic talents which were of the highest order, and which, but for an early death, would have even gained him European laurels.

Thomas Godfrey, Jr. was son of the well known inventor of the quadrant, and was born at Philadelphia in 1736. His father died when he was a child; and his mother, whom we have no reason to suspect of tenderness, satisfied herself by affording him a common English education. For the cultivation of his taste, he was indebted to his own persevering study of the best English poetry. His life was an adventurous and interesting one. As a poet, he was above the

* Dove was also a caricaturist of considerable reputation, and a few copies of the productions of our provincial Gilray are a treasure to the antiquary. Like his satires, they were political, personal, and moral, and sometimes possessed, it is said, great humour. They were not often engraved; but several copies by the author himself were distributed privately, or hung in the barber's shops of our metropolis.

drudgery of a mechanical occupation, which the more plodding genius of a mathematician might have turned to his account, and elevated by a brilliant invention. He abandoned, therefore, the trade of his father, and was as little captivated by the art of watch-making, to which he had been apprenticed. A restless disposition urged him to embrace the profession of a soldier. He obtained, by the aid of Dr. Smith, a lieutenancy in the provincial troops, and was long enough on an Indian campaign to be disgusted with its hardships. He was attracted by the hopes of rapidly acquiring fortune at the south, and established himself in N. Carolina. Again dissatisfied, he tempted the ocean, and in vain sought wealth in commerce. He returned to Carolina, where an imprudent exposure to the malaria of that unhealthy climate was the cause of his death at the early age of 26 years. He is said to have been a man of the strictest integrity, of amiable disposition, and of engaging modesty. We are told also, that his talent for music was of the highest order, and that the opposition of his friends prevented the developement of a genius for painting which would have gained him great reputation. These talents are altogether congenial with those of a poet; and indeed the man whose ear is not acutely sensible to the melody and power of music, and whose eye cannot measure the proportions of grace and appreciate the bold or delicate touches of the pencil, wants some of the essential ingredients of a poet. An active and adventurous career is also favourable to the development of poetic talents. A life passed in an humble station, has little variety and but few excitements; but the dangers and triumphs of warfare—the tempests of the ocean—the majestic wildness of our forests—the simplicity and romance of the Indian character—even the luxuriance and flagrance of southern flowers—

all work upon a poetic imagination, and excite those effusions which rouse and elevate, or soothe and sadden.

Godfrey found patrons amongst the principal literati of the province; and his smaller poems, which were occasionally published in the American Magazine, were ushered with praises and received with applause. After his death his poems were collected, and in 1765 were published in Philadelphia in a small quarto volume, preceded by a critical review from the pen of Dr. Smith, and a biographical sketch of the author by his friend and brother poet Nathaniel Evans. The "Court of Fancy" is the principal poem in the volume, and it has received the highest commendation. It is said to display "strong imagination and poetic genius," and to be distinguished for "harmony, delicacy, and gracefulness." Perhaps all this might be proved by a few selections—certainly the piece contains some highly poetical descriptions; but on the whole, it is neither well contrived nor polished; and like all similar allegorical pieces, is formal and uninteresting. Amongst Godfrey's minor pieces, several might be noticed as possessing more than common beauty. His epistle from Fort Henry is a specimen of his best style. The versification is quite elegant, and the picture of the ravages of Indian warfare at the frontier settlements, is drawn with considerable power and feeling. A translation of Chaucer's "Assembly of Birds" contains some fine verses, and several of the pastorals and elegies have no small degree of elegance and sweetness. The "Prince of Parthia," as a dramatic composition, has certainly many defects in its plot, as well as faults in its style: but is, when we make due allowance for its author, a most wonderful production. We must excuse many passages, which, in the work of a more accomplished author, we would censure as inflated and common place. Yet several of the scenes are written with

considerable power. The verses sometimes move with true tragic majesty, and swell with rage or soften into tenderness, and this with a sustained passion which is worthy of better poets. The tragedy was sketched in North Carolina, but before the author was able to revise, polish, or even to complete it, his anxiety to have it performed by the Philadelphia company of players, before they should leave the city, induced him to transmit it in the unfinished state in which it must now be read. With the exception of a farce which Mr. Graydon says was written about the year 1770, and in which his pompous and affected writing-master was caricatured under the name of Parchment, this is, it is believed, the only dramatic production of Pennsylvania previous to the revolution.

Prefixed to Godfrey's poems is an elegy to his memory by JOHN GREEN, a portrait painter, and one of his early friends. Whether the author was inspired by any other occasion is not known, but the freedom and harmony of his numbers seem to imply that his pen had not been wholly unpractised.

The name of the REV. NATHANIEL EVANS follows of course that of his friend Godfrey. Even besides the ties of friendship they are united by the congeniality of their tastes and spirits, and by the melancholy similarity of their untimely deaths.

Mr. Evans was born in Philadelphia, on the 8th of June, 1742, and spent about six years in the Academy, which he entered shortly after it was first opened, and before the establishment of the collegiate part of that institution. He left the Academy to serve an apprenticeship in a merchant's counting-house, the duties of which, it is said, he neglected in his devotion to literature and poetry. He returned,

therefore, to the college, and applied himself to the study of philosophy and the sciences until the commencement in May, 1765; when, in consideration of his great merit and promising genius, he was complimented with a diploma for the degree of master of arts; though he had not previously taken the bachelor's degree, in consequence of the above mentioned interruption of his studies. Immediately after the commencement he embarked for England, where, on the nomination of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, he was admitted into holy orders by the bishop of London, Dr. Terrick, who is said to have expressed great satisfaction with his essays on theological subjects. He returned to Philadelphia, in December, 1765, and immediately entered upon the duties of a mission at Gloucester county, New Jersey, to which he had been appointed; but, "alas," says Dr. Smith, "just lived long enough to show, by the goodness of his temper, the purity of his morals, the cheerfulness and affability of his conversation, the sublimity and soundness of his doctrines, and the warmth of his pulpit compositions, how well he was qualified for the sacred office to which he had wholly devoted himself." He died, October 29th, 1767, at the age of twenty-five years. His poems, after his death, were collected, and, in 1772, published by subscription under the care of Dr. Smith.

It has been said, and I presume with justice, that the verses of Evans are not remarkable for energy or originality. I should, however, be unwilling to exclude him or others whose compositions are not distinguished for these qualities from the list of poets. Fire and novelity do not seem to be indispensable in every poetical composition, though the popular taste may sometimes despise every thing that does not surprise and bewilder. Our senses are frequently taken off their guard by a rhapsody of measured nonsense, and

too often mistake the shocks and confusion of discordant ideas for the inspired eruptions of poetic frenzy; while pure, exalted, and intelligible sentiments, clothed in polished and graceful verses, are condemned as wanting all that distinguishes poetry from prose. Evans might truly have said of his own compositions—

> A nostris procul est omnis vesica libellis:
> Musa nec insano syrmate nostra tumet.

They are generally either the productions of his boyhood, or playful addresses to his friends; but a few more studied performances are of a higher character, and several of the odes are fine and spirited pieces. The whole collection may be praised for elegant versification and refined sentiment; and they display a chaste imagination and amiable sensibility, which must excite more just admiration of their author than the more brilliant genius of some greater poets can inspire.

We find, printed with the poems of Evans, several lively and witty pieces addressed to him by a lady, who accompanied him in his voyage from England, and whose friendship he enjoyed till his death. In these verses, she assumed the poetic name of Laura, but I believe I may venture to call her Miss Elizabeth Græme. This lady was born in this province, in the year 1739. She was daughter of Dr. Græme, the first physician of his time in Pennsylvania, and grand-daughter of Sir W. Keith. She was married to a Scotch gentleman, Mr. Hugh Ferguson. Miss Græme received an admirable education, and her mind early discovered an astonishing aptitude for every kind of learning. At her father's house she was surrounded by the most refined and literary society of America; and both here and in England

she enjoyed the intimacy, and gained the admiration of some of the most accomplished scholars and wits of the age. Her journal of travels, her letters, and many other of her prose compositions, were admired for their vivacity and elegance; and her poems, among which is to be found a translation of Telemachus into English verse, though they cannot be considered either polished or harmonious, serve to confirm the honourable traditions we have received respecting her character and her mind. Never did a poet possess a readier pen than Mrs. Ferguson. She wrote on every occasion, and on almost every subject; and if the publication of her manuscripts are called for, I have no doubt that a volume might easily be collected; but she cannot be said to have been a favourite of the Muses, and her lines are not perfumed with that "fragrant nectar," which those divinities are said to sprinkle over the verses of their friends. They are frequently sprightly and feeling, but they want the animation of poetic ardour, and even their fluency is not synonymous with graceful ease. Mrs. Ferguson is said to have been a lady of fine talents, of refined delicacy, exquisite sensibility, and romantic generosity; several of her friends are still living, who remember with delight her noble disposition, her agreeable conversation, and her amusing eccentricities.

Having introduced the name of one poetess, I take perhaps the best occasion of mentioning two ladies, whose poems are dated in almost every year of the last century, and whose venerable age extended almost to our own times. For the following biographical sketches, I am indebted to one of the most elegant and accomplished women of our age—herself the author of some beautiful verses, whom I believe I sufficiently designate, when I say she is an honorary member of this society.

"SUSANNA WRIGHT was born in Great Britain, where she had received a good education, according to its estimation at that time; but the high degree of culture which her mind afterwards attained, was entirely owing to her own diligence and love of literature; but for which she never omitted any of the peculiar duties of her day and station. She came to this country with her parents in 1714, being then 17 years of age, and lived with them for some years in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, where her talents and understanding were justly appreciated; and she laid the foundation of many friendships with distinguished individuals and families, which continued through her life. She removed with her father's family among the first settlers on the banks of the Susquehanna, then the utmost frontier settlement of Pennsylvania; where they lived, surrounded by the Indians, and in the kindest friendship with them; and where, after her mother's death, the care of a large family, and the education of its youthful members, successively devolved upon her: yet she attended to the cultivation of her own mind and talents to a very uncommon degree. She attained several languages, and knew many sciences, without the smallest degree of pedantry or affectation. She was uncommonly agreeable in conversation; indeed she was equalled but by few, and her letters were highly and deservedly admired. Her character throughout was excellent. She lived nearly to the age of ninety years."

The only specimens of Susanna Wright's poetry which I have seen have a deeply religious character, but they are written with great force and feeling as well as elegance, and more than sustain her character for poetical talents, intellectual improvement, and moral worth.

"HANNAH GRIFFITTS was the daughter of Thomas Griffitts,

formerly mayor of Philadelphia, and by her mother, who was the daughter of Isaac Norris, sen. descended from Thomas Lloyd, one of the most distinguished of the first settlers of Pennsylvania, who came over with William Penn, in 1782."

"She was a woman of excellent abilities, and distinguished for the ease and accuracy with which she expressed herself both in conversation and with her pen. She had a talent for writing verses which I have never seen equalled for its readiness, the numbers really flowing from her pen as the natural effusion of her thoughts. I have a great many of her poetical effusions, chiefly devotional, or else in the elegiac strain on the death of her friends." * * * * * * *

"She was a truly pious and virtuous woman, and was supported by that piety through a season of afflictive privation in the loss of her sight; for she lived to extreme old age, and was quite blind for several of the latter years of her life. But her senses otherwise were retained to the last, and her fine faculties seemed unimpaired by age. She was born in Philadelphia, in 1728, and died in the same city, in 1817."

"She was remarkable for the readiness of her wit and repartee, and for the ease and fluency of her conversation. In her, a generous and lofty spirit was finely tempered by a Christian humility. She wrote a great deal, but was averse to her pieces appearing in print, which they sometimes did, though without her knowledge."

Several of Hannah Griffitts' pieces are evidence of talents of a superior order. They all breathe a spirit of piety and purity which commands our love, and some of them rise to a high elevation of devotional sublimity. Her versification is easy and elegant, and her poetry generally reflects with added lustre the charming traits of her exalted and polished mind.

The talents and learning which were collected in the faculty of our university immediately after its establishment, have been often noticed, and must always excite admiration and surprise. The encouragement given in that institution to the poetical talents of its earliest pupils, has not been, I believe, so generally known. DR. SMITH was not only a critic of the first taste; but, if we may judge from one or two short compositions which are printed,* might have gained some reputation for poetical talents. He seems to have incited and encouraged every boyish attempt at rhyme, and we probably owe to his instigations a number of excellent compositions which did honour to the college and the city. Every commencement or exhibition, every occasion of

* The most considerable specimen of Dr. Smith's poetry which I have met with, is entitled A Poem on visiting the Academy of Philadelphia, June, 1753, printed in folio, and consisting of near 300 lines. It may be praised for harmony and correctness; but neither the subject nor the occasion were calculated to inspire poetical ideas, and the author's imagination was not, it seems, able to supply them. He, however, casts a "glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven," and, in the latter place perceives the venerable form of Penn, who oddly enough—

> With sky tinged mantle clad, and lifted hands,
> In act to touch the string, majestic stands.

The founder of our province "pours forth his raptures on the lyre," and after expressing his satisfaction at the advancement in wealth, wisdom, and virtue, which his fair colony has made, concludes with much excellent advice.

At the time he composed this piece, the Rev. Mr. Smith was tutor in the family of Col. Martin, of Long Island. The distinguished place he holds in the political and literary history of our colony, has rendered the events of his life familiar to us, and I will not repeat what is elsewhere to be found in print. He published several other pieces of poetry before and after the date of that just noticed. One of them may be seen prefixed to Evans' poems, and one or two, I believe, in the collection of his works.

general rejoicing or grief, was an opportunity for the public pronunciation of dialogues, odes, or elegies, some of which possess great beauty and animation, and are far above the ordinary capacity of collegians.

It would be tedious to designate the principal anonymous effusions which were produced at the university, but I must be permitted to notice a poem in blank verse, entitled "Pennsylvania," by a student at the college of Philadelphia. It describes the province as labouring under the distresses and terrors of warfare, and calls on Britain to rescue her helpless colony from the ravages of the French and Indians. It was printed in 1756. Franklin, in his advertisement, justly commends the judgment, genius, and public spirit with which it is written; and as the production of a boy it is really remarkable for the smoothness of its verses, the power of its descriptions, and the excellence of its taste.

Prefixed to a funeral sermon of Dr. Smith's upon Mr. W. T. Martin, a member of the first class which entered the university, are five elegiacal effusions by as many of his classmates, inscribed to the Rev. Provost. Each of these young gentlemen afterwards attained some distinction in our commonwealth. Several of them quitted their alma-mater with extensive learning, and a fine taste for literature; but in one alone the poetic seed appears to have produced much fruit.

One of the elegies was the production of JACOB DUCHE. It is easy, polished, and harmonious, which appear to be the characteristics of all the author's compositions. After his graduation he was received into holy orders, and was elected assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's. As a preacher he enjoyed great popularity, for his voice was full and musical, his elocution uncommonly graceful, and his

sermons highly finished and oratorical. He advocated at first the colonial resistance of British oppression, but was alarmed when that resistance became open rebellion; and on the occupation of Philadelphia by the enemy, attached himself to them. He published the letters of Tamoc Caspepina and some sermons. We have also his commencement exercise, a dialogue in blank verse, on the accession of George III. which is an harmonious and accurate composition. It is said that he afterwards occasionally wrote verses, but their loss is not to be regretted, as at most they could only have merited praise for fluency and elegance.

Another of these elegies, and one of the best, was written by Mr. Paul Jackson. This young gentleman was very much distinguished at the university for his genius, and his profound classical learning procured for him the Professorship of Languages very soon after his graduation. When in 1758 an expedition against the French forts and settlements was undertaken, he accepted a chaplaincy in the provincial troops, and resigned his seat to Mr. Beveridge. He was afterwards settled in Chester county, where he died. One or two of Mr. Jackson's poetical exercises were printed, and are still preserved. They are prettily written, but bear no proportion to his reputed talents, and cannot be adduced as evidence of the learning and accomplishments for which he has been praised.

We owe the fifth of these elegiac compositions to the pen of Francis Hopkinson. It is impossible, within the limits of this essay, to do justice to the character of that accomplished gentleman. He was a profound lawyer, an enlightened judge, and a patriotic statesman. His scholarship was various, and, indeed, there was no subject which the quickness and versatility of his talents did not enable him to grasp;

for, to use the words of one of the most sagacious and discriminating of his contemporaries, "he excelled in music and poetry, and had some knowledge of painting. But these arts did not monopolize the powers of his mind; further, he was well skilled in many practical and useful sciences, particularly mathematics and natural philosophy, and he had a general acquaintance with the principles of anatomy, chemistry, and natural history. But his forte was humour and satire, in both of which he was not surpassed by Lucian, Swift, or Rabelais. These extraordinary powers were converted to the advancement of the interests of patriotism, virtue, and science." Many of Mr. Hopkinson's poetical pieces have been collected and printed. Their subjects are mostly occasional, and though they were admirably calculated to produce a temporary effect, they cannot be fully appreciated at present. When the object of a satire is unknown, or the point of an epigram forgotten, their flatness is almost intolerable. With all these disadvantages the smaller poetic compositions of Mr. Hopkinson have not yet lost their charm, and many of his extemporary productions, like the "Battle of the Kegs," have too much humour soon to lose their popularity. Several pieces written in his youth for the American Magazine, have been praised for elegance and sprightliness; and even the "l'Allegro" and "il Penseroso," though they cannot be compared with their inimitable prototypes, will receive the approbation of every lover of poetry. His larger pieces are the "Treaty, a Poem," which, according to the author's own words, "was written on the banks of the Lehigh in the year 1761, when he served as secretary in a solemn conference held between the government of Pennsylvania and the chiefs of several Indian Nations," and "Science," a poem written in the course of the following year. They contain poetry of a high order, and with all

the rest of his pieces have received the praise of critics for propriety of expression, ease of versification, and harmony of numbers. Francis Hopkinson was born in Philadelphia in 1737, and died in his native city on the 9th of May 1791.

With the Latin poems of Mr. Beveridge, are also printed the translations into English verse, and one or two original pieces, by several students of the University, who he says were still under age. As some of these translations exhibit considerable taste and talents, I need not apologise for introducing the names of their authors, STEPHEN WATTS, ALEXANDER ALEXANDER, and THOMAS COOMBE, Jr.

I presume it is no great praise of Mr. Watts' translations, to say they are better than the original Latin of Beveridge; but that he was able to form out of such materials, verses which are easy, sprightly, and agreeable, is not a little creditable to him. He is represented to have been a man of good dispositions, and of a fine mind. He was very much distinguished at college, and at an early age gained great honour by his "Essay on the Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and her Colonies," which is in print. He studied law at Philadelphia, but had not long been admitted to practice when he emigrated to Louisiana, where we learn that he acquired a fortune, and married a daughter of the Spanish Governor.

ALEXANDER ALEXANDER quitted college with a high reputation for classical attainments, and soon after his commencement was appointed a tutor in that institution; but he had not long held this situation when he was involved in pecuniary embarrassments, and obliged to quit the city, to which he never returned. The greater part of Beveridge's Odes were done into English verse by Mr. Alexander. The translation appears to do almost too much justice to the

original; and the verses, though relieved from the cumbrous weight of the Roman costume, seem not to have recovered the natural ease of English poetry. The versification, however, is neither rude nor unharmonious. Some prefatory verses "on Mr. Beveridge's Poetical Performances," are better executed, and at times move with great propriety and gracefulness.

Thomas Coombe, Jr. was son of a respectable citizen of Philadelphia, who held a small office in the customs. At college he was more distinguished by his belles lettres taste than for his classical learning. He afterwards studied theology, and about 1770 was admitted into priest's orders. On his return from England he was elected an assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's. Like the Rev. Mr. Duché he was a whig at the commencement of our revolutionary struggle, and like him was alarmed, and abandoned the party when Congress abjured their allegiance to the king. We find his name amongst those of our fellow citizens who, in September, 1777, were banished by the Legislature of Pennsylvania to Staunton in Virginia, but he obtained permission to remain, under plea of sickness. Before the end of the war he went to England, and abandoned his country for ever. In England he was patronized by the Earl of Carlisle, who made him his chaplain, and on his elevation to the Vice-royalty of Ireland, procured him a small benefice in that country. Mr. Coombe afterwards attained greater preferment in the church, and we find him named a Prebendary of Canterbury, and one of the chaplains to his Majesty. He died a few years since. The translations by Mr. Coombe display some command of language and facility of versification. In 1775 he dedicated to Dr. Goldsmith a poem, entitled "Edwin, or the Emigrant,"

which is a continuation of the story of the Deserted Village. It will surprise no one that it has few of the charms of that delightful production, but it is not without poetic talent, and the lines may be praised for great softness and harmony. The piece was written, it is said, to discourage emigration to this country, by a dreadful picture of its inhabitants, its situation, and its prospects, an object which at the time excited no small reprobation. With this poem were printed "The Unfortunate Lovers," and a few smaller pieces, which do not possess much merit.

The American Magazine has been already referred to. Of the first series, published in 1758, there appeared only 13 Nos., and ten years afterwards, when it was revived, it existed but nine months. It contained a great variety of poetry, the best of which was produced by Godfrey, Hopkinson and others, whose names have occurred above. There were, however, a good many anonymous contributions of considerable merit, but which, as the age was fruitful of tolerable poetry, it is unnecessary more particularly to notice. About the same time a number of poems were separately published, of which I may mention "The Squabble, a Pastoral Eclogue," written upon the occasion of the disgraceful Paxton riots; "The Manners of the Times, a Satire, by Philadelphiensis," which is said to have been aimed at a number of individuals in fashionable society; and "A Panegyric, by Strephon," which seems to be an answer to the satire. The animated resistance of the colonies to the oppressive acts of the British Parliament, inspired several of our poets, and we have a great many poems and Pindaric odes on "Liberty" and "Oppression," several of which may contain some harmonious and spirited verses,

but which may be generally characterized as more patriotic than poetic.

Among the poets of this period, Mr. JOHN WILCOCKS must not be forgotten. He was son of a gentleman from the West Indies, who brought him in his childhood to Philadelphia, and dying soon afterwards, left him heir to a handsome estate. He was educated at our college, where he distinguished himself more by his talents than by his application. He afterwards studied law, but was soon disgusted with that profession, and purchased an ensigncy in the 18th or Royal Regiment of Ireland. But he had not been long in the army when (in 1772) he died, at the early age of 22. He is said to have been a young man of fine talents, of impetuous temper, and of generous disposition. We have a number of his poetical effusions; they consist of fables, pastorals, epigrams, and satires, written generally with elegance, and occasionally with wit. But verses which do honour to a lover or a beau, and hold a conspicuous place in ladies' albums, may not entitle their author to the name of a poet; and such are the productions of Mr. Wilcocks. They are to be found printed with the poems of one of his friends, whom I am next to mention.

Mr. JOHN PARKE was, I believe, a native of Delaware; he must have been born about the year 1750, for in 1768 we find him a student in the college at Philadelphia. At the commencement of the war he entered the American army, and was attached, it is supposed, to Washington's division, for some of his pieces are dated at camp in the neighbourhood of Boston, and others at Whitemarsh and Valley Forge. After the peace he was for some time in our city, and we hear of him last in Arundel county, Virginia. The most

remarkable production of Mr. Parke is a poetical translation of the Odes of Horace. Several of his versions appear to have been college exercises, and most of the rest were written at camp in moments with difficulty stolen from his military duties. Our admiration of the classical taste of this young soldier, and our astonishment at his tranquil prosecution of his favourite studies in the midst of military bustle, almost disarm criticism. If the lines are occasionally unpolished, or have failed to catch the spirit of the original, we must be ready to excuse them; and it would be unfair to withhold our approbation from many verses which really possess great spirit and elegance, because they might perhaps have been more happily executed; for we must recollect, that we have no translation of the Lyrics of Horace which does any thing like justice to them, and that it is the opinion of scholars that we never can have.

In the same volume are to be found several translations from the classical poets, a number of odes, and other occasional pieces, and a pastoral drama entitled "Virginia." Most of these pieces were inspired by friendship or patriotism, and are evidences of a warm heart, a cultivated understanding, and a correct taste.

With the name of Mr. Parke I now close my catalogue of the early poets of Pennsylvania. Its prolixity seems to call for an apology, and yet I know not how I could have exhibited the extent to which poetry was cultivated in the province but by referring to a series of unsuccessful efforts, and naming many indifferent poets. As the object of this paper has been to prove the existence in Pennsylvania of poetical taste, rather than of poetical talent, I may, perhaps, flatter myself that it has not fallen short of its aim; at all events, I am entitled to ask of this society their favourable countenance of an attempt to rescue our ancestors from

the charge of illiteracy and inelegance, and to prove, that although the austerity of their religion and the hardness of their fortunes may have at first prevented any great patronage of the elegant arts, yet that competence and leisure quickly mitigated this severity, and the society of colonists became

to soft refinements less a foe,
Wit grew polite, and numbers learned to flow.

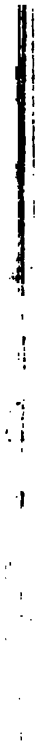
POSTSCRIPT.

Since the foregoing pages were prepared for the press, I have had in my hands several copy books of the familiar letters of JAMES LOGAN, and find that his name must be added to the catalogue of our early poets.

It seems that he translated into English verse, for the use of his daughters, the Distichs of Cato, and that this version is in print.

It appears, also, that he was particularly ready at Latin versification, and that he frequently addressed to his learned friends, playful odes or epistles in Roman numbers. In one of his letters to the accomplished Colonel Hunter, Governor of New Jersey, I find mention of a Greek ode which he had just written, a proof of singular scholarship in that beautiful language.

These compositions I have not seen; of course, I cannot speak of their merits. I need not add any account of their author; his name, character, and station, are familiar to every one here, and a satisfactory history of his life and acquirements is precluded by the limits of this paper.



SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

BY

WILLIAM RAWLE, L.L.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

Read at an adjourned Meeting of the Council, Oct. 28, 1829.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

ALTHOUGH Pennsylvania was not inferior to *any of her* sister states in *devotion* to the cause of the revolution, or in *liberal contribution* to the support of the war, it has happened that the catalogue of *eminent military* characters has received little addition from her. *Circumstances* are always necessary to bring *talent* into *action*. The bravest *warrior* and the most ardent *patriot*, without the *accidental opportunity* of distinguishing himself, may remain *unnoticed* and *obscure;* while *others*, though without superior merit, derive honour and distinction from a *mere concurrence* of circumstances.

Anthony Wayne and *Thomas Mifflin* were those of the children of Pennsylvania, who chiefly contributed to decorate her with laurels. It was the felicity of the *former*, at a late period, to have a *new* opportunity of exhibiting the power and the success of his talents for war. An account of his life is now in preparation by a gentleman *well qualified* for the task, and enjoying the advantage of access to the archives of his family.

In tracing the life of Thomas Mifflin, we shall find that an *early dedication* of *all his energies* to the *cause of his* country, an *unremitted aspiration* for hazardous employment, and a constitutional activity which nothing could wear out, were insufficient to place him so high on the roll of historical fame as some of his competitors; yet his *name* and his

merits deserve to be recorded. He was in early life "*the beloved man*" of Pennsylvania, and the following sketch will show that her confidence and affection in respect to him, were *never* diminished.

Thomas Mifflin was descended from one of the first settlers of Pennsylvania, and he was himself a native of Philadelphia.

In 1744, the year of his birth, the peaceful and humble *dependance* of a province afforded little prospect that the lapse of a few years would require the high employment of the mind in the perils of internal warfare, and the establishment of an *independent* empire.

The general course of education at *that* time was calculated for the *utilities* of *domestic* life, or the limited calls of *provincial employment;* and it would have been deemed *absurd and dangerous* to hold up the *heroes* of Greece and Rome for the imitation of the youth of Philadelphia. Intended for the mercantile profession, the education of Mifflin, although *carefully* superintended by his respectable father, was not protracted by a close *study of ancient languages*, and his knowledge of them was, consequently, moderate; yet he passed with reputation through the *usual collegiate* course, and was subsequently placed in the counting-house of *William Coleman*, a man of whom Dr. Franklin has testified, that he had "the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals, of almost any man he ever met with."

On attaining the age of 21 years he made a voyage to *Europe*, several parts of which were visited by him with a view to his own improvement, but no further particulars of his travels have reached his present biographer. On his return, he entered into business with one of his brothers, and the affectionate attachment which existed between them was much noticed. Circumstances afterwards gave him an

opportunity to evince the sincerity of his feelings towards the *family* of that brother, in a manner which did him the greatest credit.

His opening talents rendered him an *early favourite* with his fellow citizens. In the *provincial legislature*, the city of Philadelphia was then represented by two burgesses annually elected, and to be one of those two burgesses was reckoned no inconsiderable honour, even in quiet times; but when clouds began to gather round us; when the blind desire to draw a forced revenue from the colonies, led the British ministry to put in jeopardy the immense national profit derived from our trade, and when a severity of restriction on our internal transactions was openly menaced and partly enforced, it became important that the metropolis of the central province should select for its *counsellors* and *agents*, men of the *purest principles* and the *best abilities*. In 1772, when he had attained only 28 years of age, Thomas Mifflin was chosen one of those burgesses. His conduct gave so much satisfaction to his constituents, that in the ensuing year he again received the same distinction, which was rendered the more flattering from his having a colleague in the illustrious Benjamin Franklin, who was then on his return from Europe.

A *yet* more elevated post was soon afterwards assigned to him. In July, 1774, he was included in the *list of delegates* to the first Congress. The appointments of members of Congress were at that time made in all the provinces by the legislatures, and continued to be made in this manner until the adoption of the present constitution. It was an objectionable principle, but practically unavoidable.

All the colleagues of Mifflin were his seniors. *Joseph Galloway*, was a gentleman of the bar, of great talents, and considerable property. He had been an *active opponent* of

the Proprietaries, and possessed the confidence of *great numbers* of the people, though many suspected that he was not sincerely attached to the American cause, and their suspicions were *confirmed* by his subsequently joining the army of Sir *William Howe*. *Edward Biddle*, also, was a lawyer. He resided at Reading, in the county of Berks: he was a man of ready elocution, sound principles, and correct judgment. *Samuel Rhoads*, a respectable merchant of Philadelphia, belonged to the Society of Friends—without the talent of speaking in public, he possessed much *acuteness of mind*, his judgment was *sound*, and his practical information *extensive*. The other two gentlemen, *Messrs. Morton* and *Humphreys*, resided in the country, and were respectable, though not prominent men.

The *closed* doors of the hall of Congress prevented the public from ascertaining the *particular conduct* of the members within it. We find upon the journals, the appointments of committees and their reports. The transcendent abilities of *Jay*, of *William Livingston*, *Patrick Henry*, *Chase*, *Rutledge*, and many others, could not be recorded in these official protocols. The *estimation* in which individual members were held, may be *uncertainly* inferred from the *appointments of committees*. The name of Mifflin frequently appears in this capacity.

When the news of the *battle of Lexington* reached Philadelphia, a town meeting was called, and the fellow citizens of Mifflin were delighted by his *animated* oratory. Other addresses were delivered on this solemn occasion, *all of* which partook of the same feeling; but, although the *youngest* of these speakers, Mifflin had the exclusive merit of suggesting the necessity of a *steady adherence* to the resolutions that were adopted. The language with which he concluded was long remembered. "Let us not," he said, "be *bold in*

declarations, and afterwards *cold in action.* Let not the patriotic feelings of *to-day* be *forgotten* to-morrow, nor have it said of Philadelphia, that she passed *noble resolutions*, *slept upon* them, and afterwards *neglected* them."

What he recommended to others, he practised himself. The formation of military companies and regiments, the acquisition of as great a portion of military knowledge as there could be obtained, and the exercises of daily drill and discipline, soon became general. Of one of these regiments he was appointed the *major*, and no efforts on *his* part were wanting to improve this species of domestic defence. But his active spirit could not long be confined to *mere measures* of preparation; he panted for opportunities of coming into *action*, and he flew to the camp then formed before Boston.

Destitute of materials for besieging a place even *slightly* fortified, the occupations of the American army were *chiefly confined* to restraining the excursions of General Gage, and intercepting his supplies. A small affair of this kind afforded him the first opportunity of displaying both his *courage* and his *judgment.* A detachment had been sent from the British army to a place called *Lechmire's Point*, for the purpose of collecting cattle; Mifflin solicited and obtained the command of a party to oppose them, and succeeded, with half disciplined militia, in repelling the regular soldiery. An eye witness, the aged and venerable General *Craig*, declared to the writer, that he "never saw a greater display of personal bravery, than was exhibited on this occasion in the *cool* and *intrepid* conduct of Colonel Mifflin."

With no *other* opportunity to distinguish himself, Mifflin, in common with his brother officers, was obliged to remain in a state of inactivity, while the enemy were confined in Boston. Hopes were entertained that some effort would be made to capture the town, but Congress had laid general

Washington under a restriction of previously obtaining the approbation of a council of war.

A council was called, and on *full deliberation* it was determined to postpone a measure, the success of which was certainly doubtful. The general was not, however, inclined *wholly* to relinquish the attempt, and at a *later period* a strong work was erected on Dorchester Neck, which would command the town, and was expected to draw out a considerable part of the British force; on which event it was the intention of the judicious chief to make the attack; but the enemy, *mindful of Bunker's Hill*, instead of endeavouring to reduce the newly erected work, resolved to *withdraw* from a town which they perceived they could not much longer defend. On the 17th of March, 1776, *Boston* was evacuated, and most of our troops returned to their respective homes.

Very soon after this great event, Col. Mifflin received from Congress the commission of Brigadier General, which at so *early* an age was no *inconsiderable honour*. He had before this time performed the laborious duties of *Quarter-Master General;* which were afterwards undertaken by Stephen Moylan, an accomplished Irish gentleman resident among us, but of habits and manners not exactly suited to the difficulties of the times: he therefore soon abandoned the office, and Mifflin was requested by Congress to *resume* it. Military men know this to be a post of the first necessity, and of severe responsibility; but it is one which tends to subtract he occupant from the chance of distinction in actual warfare; and therefore, as well in this respect, as in regard to the nature of the employment itself, Mifflin's acceptance of the office was somewhat of an act of *self-denial*. The country was in a state of *disorder*—its *commerce* was suspended—and, of the articles most in demand, some could not be procured *at all*, and others were *reluctantly* parted

with. In the organization of the department, every thing was new and unsettled; and, in its operations, almost every measure either *offended* the people, or *disappointed* the government. In all his share of public life, Gen. Mifflin found *this* the most obnoxious to his *feelings*, and, for a time, the most prejudicial to his *character*.

But Congress at this juncture entertained a high opinion of him. On their secret journal, it appears (of the date of May 25, 1776) that a committee was appointed to confer with Gen. Washington, Gen. Gates, and Gen. Mifflin, "touching the frontiers towards Canada." Of the *result* of this particular conference no traces appear; and, as an incident of *general* history, it would scarcely deserve notice, but to the *biographer* it is not devoid of interest. The friends of the youthful hero were *gratified* by seeing him associated with *one* on whom the destinies of their country seemed to depend, and with *another*, whose age and experience stamped a value on his opinions.

In November, 1776, the commander in chief sent him from *Newark* with a *confidential* letter to Congress. Our affairs at that time wore a gloomy aspect; and it required firm hearts to continue in resistance to the apparently overwhelming power of Sir William Howe.

There was probably much committed to Mifflin beyond the contents of the letter; and Congress being desirous to avail themselves of his *information* and his *judgment*, he was, in a manner not very usual nor perhaps altogether consistent with military order, directed to *remain near them*, of which Gen. Washington was apprised.

The spirits of the people were at this period much *depressed*. The contest was considered by some as *desperate*, by all as *doubtful*. Our army, dwindling every day in number, was obliged to seek refuge in defensible

positions. New Jersey was overrun, and the safety of Philadelphia was endangered. The inhabitants of this city were necessary for its defence, and it was from the *country* that the recruits for the army, anxiously invoked by Gen. Washington, were to be drawn; but much *torpor* and much dejection seemed to prevail. Something *out of the common course* was necessary to revive the ardour of 1775. *Personal application* was determined on, and one, who *besides sincere and unaffected patriotism*, had already shared the dangers of the field, and who possessed a powerful and impressive eloquence, was to be selected. These qualities were combined in Gen. Mifflin, and he was directed to proceed through the adjacent counties, "to exhort and rouse the militia to come forth in defence of their country." The legislature of Pennsylvania, then in session, was requested to appoint a committee to accompany him. On this *honourable* and *extraordinary* mission he set out immediately. He assembled the inhabitants in every convenient place of *public resort*, his *animated eloquence* was heard from the pulpit of the *church*, from the *meeting house*, and the *court house*, and every where with the happiest effect. The gallant *coup de main* at Trenton produced a gleam of sunshine, which greatly *aided* his exertions, and he was delighted at the respectable addition which was soon made to the army in New Jersey.

The sense which *Congress* entertained of his merits, was evinced by their conferring on him, in the following month of February, the rank of *Major General.*

In the course of this year, his health became so much impaired that he was under the necessity of requesting leave to resign, but his application was unsuccessful. He was not even relieved from the fatigues of the quarter-master general's department. On the contrary, his labours were

increased, by being appointed a member of a new board of war. It would seem, however, that this body did not immediately go into operation, for a report was soon afterwards made to Congress, by one of their committees, that *he* had been consulted with, and his *advice* taken as to supplying the army with flour, and other matters which related to the quarter-master general's department.

The ensuing winter is known to have been one of *dense* and heavy *gloom* in our public affairs. The REMNANTS of an army, protected from the severity of the weather by huts hastily erected at *Valley Forge*, were suffering almost *every privation*, while the enemy *rioted in enjoyment* at Philadelphia. Much complaint was made of bad management *somewhere*, and General Mifflin came in for a share of the blame. On the 2d of March a new appointment of quarter-master general was made, and he was directed to render to Congress and to General Greene, his *successor*, "a statement of the preparations for the next campaign, and deliver the articles on hand to General Greene."

The great want of order and subordination in many departments of the army, which was partly owing to the erroneous systems adopted at different times by Congress itself, and partly to the novelty of the predicaments in which we were placed, threw on the head of a department no *small difficulties;* and Mifflin, who, so far as related to his own receipts and disbursements of public money, was above suspicion, very reasonably conceived that he ought not to be responsible for the conduct of *others*, over whom he had no *efficient control.* A resolution to a different effect was passed, however, by Congress, on the 19th of May, declaring as a general rule, that the "great servants of the public" are *accountable* to it, and that it must depend on *particular circumstances*, of which *Congress* will judge, whether, in any

case, the payment of money to deputies or assistants shall discharge the principal. No progress was made in the inquiry at *this time*, and on the 21st of May, Mifflin, who with others foresaw the speedy evacuation of Philadelphia, and was anxious to participate in those military measures, which the event would probably give rise to, obtained leave to join the main army.

Of the share which he took in the military proceedings that ensued, the writer of this sketch has not been able to obtain any satisfactory information. It does not appear that he was in the battle of *Monmouth*. We must, therefore, return to the history of his troubles as quarter-master general.

By one of those strange vacillations to which public bodies are always liable, Congress, after having at different times manifested almost unbounded confidence in him, suddenly requested General Washington to make an *inquiry* into his conduct, and if the distresses of the army were owing to his *misconduct*, or that of his inferior officers, to order a court martial.

We may reasonably suppose that this procedure arose from clamours with which Congress was beset, and which they knew not how otherwise to appease. His particular friends might, indeed, have concurred in the measure from a desire of vindicating his character; and it is not improbable that the commander in chief was *himself* satisfied that no neglect of duty was imputable to him. We may account, for the distresses of the army, as proceeding from a variety of causes not imputable to General Mifflin. It is certain that he earnestly courted the inquiry, and after waiting some time, and finding that no proceeding took place, he indignantly returned his commission to Congress, and insisted upon being allowed to resign, but this application was not more success-

ful than the former. It was referred to a committee, who *made no report.* Exactly one *month afterwards*, an unequivocal proof that he was not suspected of any *dishonourable peculation* was given, by the advance to him of *one million of dollars*, to be employed in closing the business of the quarter-master general's department. This sum being, of course, in continental bills of credit, was eqnal in value to *two hundred thousand dollars* in specie. An amount sufficiently large however in the existing embarrassments of the government to evince the return of public confidence to him.

And yet, from the necessity of satisfying the public mind, Congress did not lose sight of the inquiry originally directed. On the 23d of January, 1779, they were informed by one of their committees, that General Washington had done nothing in the business. By another resolve he was directed to proceed. Still, however, no formal inquiry seems to have been instituted, or if any did take place in the course of the year, it was favourable to him, since in January, 1780, he was appointed by Congress a member of a board to retrench the general expenses, and the thanks of Congress were voted to him and Colonel *Pickering*, for "the *wise* and *salutary plans*" they had recommended.

From this time to the close of the war nothing of much moment occurred in his public life, but his *strong hold* on the affections of his fellow-citizens still continued; in 1783, he was again appointed by the legislature of Pennsylvania a member of Congress; and on the third of November in the same year, he was elevated to the dignified station of *president* of that body.

In this capacity, he had the distinguished honour of receiving at Annapolis, from one of the first of warriors, and best of statesmen, the resignation of that commission which

had borne him to glory, and his country to independence. The *answer* of the president to the dignified, yet respectful address of the commander in chief, *closely resembled* the manly and simple eloquence of the latter. They are both recorded in the journals of Congress, but those journals could *not record* the *feelings* which the occasion inspired. The audience was public, and the impressions made as well by the act itself, as by the manner in which it was conducted, long remained on the minds of all who were present.

Foreigners have not yet ceased to extol the *magnanimity* of him who thus voluntarily retired, from the command of a victorious army, to the shades of private life, without any *distinction* above his fellow citizens; and of his merits in this respect, his *fellow citizens* were duly sensible. If, indeed, he had made an *attempt* to arrogate to himself any *inordinate power*, or *personal privilege*, the *genius* and *character* of our country would have *prevented* its success; but the purity of his mind forbade his forming even such *a wish;* his example was followed by his fellow soldiers, and fellow sufferers, and never was the dissolution of an army marked by more resignation and tranquillity. The slight and temporary ebullition of June, 1783, deserves scarcely to be mentioned as an exception to the general demeanour of the common men.*

General Mifflin, after discharging the duties of president of Congress, with much dignity and effect, was left out of the new delegation from Pennsylvania, and for a short time

* It might have been instantly suppresed, if the executive power of Pennsylvania had been in proper hands, and the city of Philadelphia would not have had the mortification of witnessing the indignant removal of Congress to Princeton. But all was tranquil in 1784. The army gently and silently disappeared, leaving no bandit to prowl along the roads, nor burglars to invade the lonely cottage: the honest occupations of civil life were resumed, and the grim soldier was transformed into the industrious artisan or the hardy husbandman.

remained in private life. But his native state, accustomed to see his name enrolled in the list of her public servants, did not long leave him in retirement.

In 1785 he was chosen a member of the state legislature, and when that body convened they elected him their speaker. In 1788 he was placed by popular suffrage in the seat which had been occupied by Franklin, and became first a member, and afterwards president of the supreme executive council.

Prior to this, however, in 1787, when it became obvious to all that the confederation of the states was inadequate to their safety and happiness, and a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution was agreed on, he was chosen a member.

Of the share which he took in the formation of that unequalled constitution, which has so much conduced to the fame and happiness of our country, we have no satisfactory knowledge. Their proceedings were secret, and we can only glean from the imperfect journal of Mr. Gates part of their debates. His name appears as one of the illustrious band who signed the constitution, of whom *but one now* remains!

The imperfections of our state constitution, which had long been complained of, seemed to be rendered more visible on comparing it with the constitution of the United States, and a convention was speedily called for the purpose of amending it. He was president of this convention.

In the formation of political constitutions he was not expected to take a lead. His natural disposition and confirmed habits were of an *ardent* and *active* kind: he was *unaccustomed* to and perhaps unqualified for slow deliberation and patient investigation. To the great leading principles of individual and political rights, he was no

stranger; but his knowledge on those subjects was rather *intuitive* than *acquired*. In this last mentioned convention were many men accustomed to deep reflection and laborious inquiry, men who could ascend to Aristotle and to Tully; and could distinguish between the vague principles of ancient times, and the practical improvements and actual necessities of the present day.

Some of them were of a profession which, in this country, naturally impels to the acquisition of the principles of *government*, as well as of *laws*, and teaches that the *latter* are most easily enforced when founded on just views of the former. Of this class the most eminent among us had been selected—Wilson, Lewis, M'Kean, Sitgreaves, Addison, Ross, and others. There were other men of enlarged minds, and conversant in political studies, able both to *form* and to *advocate* opinions that could not be heard without respect; Findley, Smiley, Gallatin, and Pickering.

In the great *division* of the powers of government—its partition into *three parts*—*all* concurred, but there were some diversity of opinion, and some warmth of debate, in respect to several important articles, and the charges of *aristocracy* and *anarchy* were reciprocally, but decently made. The manner of electing the governor—for all agreed that the executive power ought no longer to remain in the hands of a council—was *one* subject of warm and frequent debate. A close conformity to the constitution of the United States in this respect, by making use of the medium of *electors*, was much pressed. Experience has shown how entirely nominal this mode of election has become in respect to the president of the United States; and such would *undoubtedly* have been the result, if we had adopted it in *the state*. Another serious subject of contest—*universal suffrage*—was advocated as part of the inherent rights of man, while some

of the members, highly respected for talents and influence, fruitlessly endeavoured to establish a compound ratio founded on property and personal taxation.

Wilson, who had been previously *distinguished* for the nobler part he had taken in procuring the *adoption* of the general constitution which he had assisted to form, now threw the *whole weight* of his talents into the popular scale, and successfully co-operated with Smiley, Findley, and Gallatin.

In an *entire* view, the constitution of Pennsylvania must be allowed to be a *master* piece, and we must hope that inconsiderate innovations, since the abortive attempt in 1825, will not *again* be proposed to *disturb* its symmetry or *impair its strength.*

As president of the convention, Mifflin was not required to vote, but in committees of the whole he could both debate and vote, yet his *voice* was seldom heard. His *suffrages* were always on the popular side.

As soon as the constitution went into operation, the election of a governor became an interesting subject. Wilson, whose views in the convention were entirely theoretical and abstract, *deserted* his new associates, and concurred with a small number of citizens in recommending General *St. Clair* for this high office. St. Clair then possessed a good military reputation. He was a man of no extraordinary attainments, but his private character was fair, and he was much approved of by the federal party; yet *many* of the federalists *regretted* the nomination, and foresaw that, by opposing the election of Mifflin, he would be driven into the *opposite* political ranks. The mode of election finally adopted by the convention was admitted to render the success of St. Clair *exceedingly doubtful.* When it was suggested to Wilson, that if the *system* of electors and the *compound* ratio had

been adopted, there would have been a better prospect of success, he answered with an apopthegm which showed *little* acquaintance with *human nature*. "The best man," he said, "will always be the most popular." He forgot the *ostracism* of *Aristides*. But the maxim is *otherwise* fallacious. If St. Clair was thought by some the "best man in the state" for this office, others sincerely believed that Mifflin was the best. It is, therefore, a matter of opinion, not of absolute merit. Mifflin was elected by a vast majority, and the preference given to him over St. Clair was not to be condemned. His *happiest* exhibitions were those of an *executive* character. He was *ready* to conceive, and *prompt* to execute whatever the duties of such an office required.

The nine years which limited his continuance *in office*, were not altogether years of quiet, regular detail. In 1793, the public mind was disturbed by the indiscretions of the minister from France; and during that and two or three succeeding years, the administration of the United States received from the Governor of Pennsylvania a ready and efficient compliance with *all its* requisitions. In this he evinced the merit of subjecting, to his sense of duty, those predilections in favour of France, which he entertained in common with numbers of his fellow citizens.

The present writer then filled a station which gave him the best opportunities of observing the official proceedings of Governor Mifflin, and he bears a willing testimony to his *prompt* and *effective* compliance with the requisitions of the President on every occasion. He did not, like the executive council in 1783, on the occasion already adverted to, *deliberate* and *discuss* when it was his duty *to act*. It was a strong practical proof, that the *executive power* in a republic is most safely confided to a single hand.

The absurd insurrection of 1794, could only be suppressed

by the display of *great military* power; and at the head of *that portion* of the militia of Pennsylvania which went on the service, Gen. Mifflin cheerfully put himself *under the orders* of Gen. Lee, governor of Virginia, who in *the regular army* during the war had been his *inferior* in rank. In this he showed his reverence for the constitution of the United States; which, rendering the President commander in chief of the whole, authorised him to assign particular services to *such officers* as he thought proper.

Before his commission as governor expired, his fellow citizens, unwilling to part with him as a public man, again chose him a member of the state legislature; in which, however, he could not act, till his successor was installed in the office of governor. His last official communication in the latter character, was on the 7th of December, 1799. It was an eloquent valediction, and was respectfully and affectionately answered. He then took his seat in the house of representatives, but his shattered constitution disabled him from making in it that imposing figure which he had often done before. He died during a session of the house at Lancaster, on the 21st of January, 1800. Resolutions were passed, expressive of the high sense entertained of his merits and his services as a soldier and "a statesman;" providing for his interment at the public expense, and for the erection of a monument to his memory.

Thus ended the *chequered* life of Thomas Mifflin—*brilliant* in its outset—*troubled* and *perplexed* at a period more advanced—again *distinguished*, *prosperous*, and *happy*—finally clouded by *poverty*, and *oppressed by creditors*. In *patriotic principle* never changing—in *public action* never faltering—in *personal friendship* sincerely warm—in *relieving the distressed* always active and humane—in his *own*

affairs improvident—in the business of others scrupulously just.

In *person* he was remarkably handsome, though his stature did not exceed five feet eight inches. His frame was *athletic*, and seemed *capable* of bearing much fatigue. His manners were cheerful and affable. His elocution open, fluent, and distinct.

Graydon,* who did not like him, says that his manners were better adapted to *attract* popularity than to *preserve* it, and that he possessed in an eminent degree the talent of haranguing a multitude. He adds, that he was a man of "education, ready apprehension and brilliancy, and possessed a fortitude equal to any demands that might be made on it."

The present memoir ought not to be closed, without adverting to a circumstance, which for a long time operated to his discredit, and from which it is not yet too late to clear his memory.

In what may be termed the *political* conduct of Gen. Mifflin in *the army*, we cannot wholly exculpate him from the charge of being frequently *discontented* and *out of humour* with the course of proceedings: at times, if we are to believe Wilkinson, (in his Memoirs,) quite despondent of ultimate success. He was naturally *free* and *unguarded* in his conversation; and it is very probable that *some* of his remarks reached the ears of the commander in chief. It is certain that he was not a favourite at head quarters, and hence we may account for his never having had a separate command, except in the trifling affair at Lechmere's point. But although suspected of being a party to the unworthy plot concerted at York to remove Gen. Washington from the command of the

* Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania.

army, he was altogether innocent of it. The writer of this article has accidentally become possessed of a correspondence between him and the late Colonel Delany, which appears to vindicate him entirely from the charge.

In a letter dated February 1, 1778, the general observes, "As a man of sense and honour, you must judge what my feelings must be, when I am told that my old acquaintance Colonel Delany had charged me with a design of ruining General Washington, and of setting up Gen. Gates in opposition to him. As a friend to my country, I have spoken my sentiments on public matters with decency and firmness. *I love and esteem Gen. Washington, and know him too well, even to wish for a change. I love my country, and for her sake deprecate the idea of such a change.* But I have seen, and among my friends have said, that Gen. Washington's judgment in military points was frequently counteracted by what I believed a dangerous influence. I have quoted Long Island and Mount Washington as instances of that influence, and have lamented that the general did not consider the *great value* of his own *private judgment*, a judgment universally admitted and admired."

In answer, Col. Delany threw the blame on an officer from the southward, from whom he had heard the charge when dining at a friend's house, and did not attempt to support it himself.

In the opinion that Gen. Washington sometimes allowed his own excellent judgment to be overruled by the suggestions of others, Mifflin did not stand alone. Wilkinson observes, that General Wayne "wished our worthy general would follow his own good judgment, without listening too much to some counsel."

Who were meant as giving this counsel, is not explained.

I have heard from military men, that the loss of the battle

of Germantown was imputable to the suggestions of *General Knox*, that an advancing army ought not to leave a garrison in its rear. *C. J. Marshall* has explained and vindicated the remaining with so many troops on *Long Island*, and the unfortunate attempt to defend *Fort Washington* now appears to have been the act of *General Greene*.

AN

EXAMINATION

OF

THE VARIOUS CHARGES BROUGHT BY HISTORIANS

AGAINST

WILLIAM PENN

BOTH AS A MAN AND AS A POLITICAL GOVERNOR.

BY

J. R. TYSON, ESQ.

Read before the Society, February 3, 1830.

AN EXAMINATION, &c.

MANY circumstances combined to render the actions and motives of William Penn, during his life, the objects of misrepresentation and suspicion. His religion no less than his efforts in the cause of religious toleration; his familiarity with James II.; and his situation as proprietary of Pennsylvania; all conspired to injure him in the estimation of many of his contemporaries. Haste or carelessness has, in too many instances, perpetuated what sectarian bigotry and political zeal at first engendered. It is high time to examine, with candour and with care, the justice of the numerous charges which continue to assail the memory of a man whom many inquirers regard as really estimable and uncommon—charges which unceasingly receive from the repetitions and versions of successive chroniclers some new confirmation. They are not concentered in a single book, but lie scattered over numerous volumes, each containing some variation from the rest, and each endeavouring to surpass its fellows in the adoption of some gratuitous narrative, or the boldness of interpretation given to particular portions.

The cause of truth and the integrity of history require that error, if it exist, should be arrested. I propose therefore to examine with minuteness the assertions against Penn,

and to expose such parts of his public and private career as may be necessary for the discussion of the points in controversy.

Among the early works which throw odium upon his name as a legislator and friend of political liberty, "The Historical Review of Pennsylvania" stands conspicuous. Most of the accusations to be found in this, are repeated by subsequent writers, without looking further, or examining the correctness with which they are here preferred. It has been quoted as authority superior to exception, while it is well known to be the production of party zeal, and shows in its language but too many evidences of a feeling altogether incompatible with fair and candid representation. The work, although never acknowledged, is universally attributed to Dr. Franklin,* who in the angry contests between the proprietary and popular parties, espoused the cause of the latter, and acted in the triple capacity of agent to solicit and transact the affairs of the colony, of printer, and member,† in an assembly, which, however justly, was warmly opposed to the interests of the Penn family. It may fairly be supposed that, in the excitement of contending for rights then undoubtedly withheld or invaded, Dr. Franklin may have conceived antipathies against the father as well as his children which disqualified him for the business he had undertaken. Indeed

* Clarkson, in his life of Penn, says that it was attributed to one *Ralph*, and was written "to prejudice the people against the proprietary family." It is highly probable that Ralph, who then resided in Philadelphia, and was intimate with Franklin, assisted in the work.

† It has been said that Dr. Franklin was clerk and member of the assembly at the same time, but this seems to be a mistake. He was clerk in 1746; but he was not at that time a member. *William* Franklin officiated for several years subsequently as clerk, while Benjamin Franklin was a member of the house; the name probably has given rise to the error. Votes of Assembly.

his character of partisan is constantly betrayed by the strain of argument which pervades the Review, and the cutting gibes and sly innuendos with which each page is replete. He had done enough for his purpose by showing the constitutional rights of British subjects, and that these, though guarantied in the Royal Charter, had been abused and violated; but he needs must deduce the history of the province to exhibit an unbroken series of wrongs and outrages upon popular liberty, the recital of which he knew would produce a sentiment of hostility, and destroy all the latent respect, which, on account of the virtues of William Penn, might still be entertained for his successors. The Historical Review, therefore, presenting but one aspect of the subject, is entitled to little authoritative respect as a history.

The different imputations contained in this work all tend to produce an impression that William Penn opposed the just rights and liberties of the people. A brief reference to his sentiments and acts will prove the reflection to be totally unfounded.

If we look at the provisions of the various charters granted by the proprietary at different times, we shall find that liberty as extensive as is compatible with the existence of a political state, is their distinguishing feature. The people were represented in the assembly and council, and though at the beginning the power of originating bills was confined to the latter with the governor, the privilege was subsequently conferred on both without distinction. His own language demonstrates that he had a just conception of the essence of political freedom: "Any government," says he, "is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where *the laws rule, and the people are parties to those laws;* and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, and confusion." It is very certain that the liberty enjoyed by his colony was

esteemed, at the time, rather of dangerous tendency, and required his utmost vigilance before the throne. He answered the objections of the lords of trade to the act of privileges to a freeman, passed in 1705, in a manner which displayed, in a most amiable point of view, his zeal for the immunities of his colony. He strenuously urged that the act was consistent with Magna Charta, and that adventurers to Pennsylvania had not gone so far from England, to lose a tittle of its benefits. Burke, in his "Account of the European Settlements in America," in adverting to what he calls Penn's "noble charter of privileges" to the people of his province, says, "he made *the most perfect freedom*, both civil and religious, the basis of his establishment." This opinion will be abundantly confirmed, by a succinct allusion to the prominent events and various constitutions of the colony, the latter made with the consent or at the express instance of the proprietary. Immediately after the acquisition of Pennsylvania, by virtue of the charter of Charles II., William Penn published an account of the country, stating the terms upon which he would part with the land, and apprising those who intended to emigrate of the unavoidable privations incident to their residence in a new world. His "Conditions and Concessions" more fully disclosed his views, and this was followed by a developement of their civil constitution, called "The Frame of Government," which cordially met the wishes of the colonists, who, according to Markham, "unless pleased, and granted whatever they wanted, would not have settled his country." Upon the arrival of the proprietary, in 1682, an assembly was convened at Chester, which, after uniting the territories and province, and naturalizing foreigners, passed "The Great Law," which, in a word, establishes the rights of conscience, breathes mercy to the criminal, and protects the

natural rights of man. That part of it which relates to property, has been sanctioned by the voice of public approbation and applause. Without indicating other provisions admirably in unison, the rejection of the rules of primogeniture in the descent of estates, sufficiently discovers the democratical foundation upon which Penn deliberately resolved to rear his infant colony. The provisions of the criminal portions of "The Great Law" have given rise to some diversity of opinion; and a late historian* seems to think that those *contra bonos mores* pursue minor transgressions so far, that they smack of puritanism and severity. It is true that drinking, stage-plays, cards, cock-fighting, bull baits, masks, revels, &c. were forbidden, and punished by a brief imprisonment or a trifling penalty; but it must be recollected that these amusements, though some of them are permitted at the present day, were very likely to prove hurtful to a youthful colony, whose duties consisted in the destruction of the immense forests that surrounded them, and the advancement of agricultural and commercial industry. Penn too, as a man and a Christian, was anxious to reconstruct the social and moral edifice upon purer principles than the old; but though intent upon this, he used neither intolerance nor cruelty to aid him in the workmanship. No evidence of either is perceptible in his code. It proclaimed liberty to all, and hailed with open arms professors of every religious persuasion. Let the sanguinary penalties of the New England code, of 1641, be placed in opposition to its mild inflictions; or let its universal toleration be contrasted with the law of Connecticut, passed in 1705, against *heretics*.† If more be wanting, it may be added, that

* Mr. Gordon.

† This law was abolished by Queen Anne. After proscribing all kinds of *heretics*, it provides in particular, that *Quakers* shall be imprisoned or

Burke, Anderson, Oldmixon, Father O'Leary, Ebeling, and most of Penn's biographers, unite in attributing the superiority of Pennsylvania, in social happiness and domestic quiet, over the other settlements in America, to the influence of his early laws.

When the time limited in the Charter arrived, *all the inhabitants*, in compliance with its injunctions, were summoned by the proprietary to attend personally in convention. A form of government so entirely popular being waived by general consent, the power of legislation was conferred on twelve delegates from each of the counties, nine for the assembly and three for the council. As fears were expressed that an omission to use the legislative franchise in the manner pointed out by the constitution, rendered that instrument a nullity, Penn concurred with the people in framing a new Charter, which, after reducing the assembly to thirty-six members, and the council to eighteen, deprived him, as governor, of his treble vote in the latter. The privileges of the assembly were likewise amplified by a resolution of the house, approved by the proprietary, giving to them the power of originating as well as rejecting all legislative measures. And although a "courtly member," as we are told by Mr. Gordon, objected to such a pretension, it cannot be imputed to Penn, for we know not that he sanctioned the opposition; and we are directly informed by Ebeling, that some of the members endeavoured to extend his influence beyond the limits which he himself had prescribed. Ebeling, who seems coolly to have investigated the nature and consequences of these changes in the Charter, as

sent out of the colony; that all unnecessary discourse with *Quakers*, or the possession of their books, shall be penal; and that the master of a vessel, who shall land *Quakers* without carrying them away, shall pay the penalty of £20, &c.

well as justly appreciated the malevolence of "The Historical Review," has these words: "It is not to be denied, that all these alterations in the form of government, even where they appeared to increase the power of the proprietary, were still more favourable to the freedom of the inhabitants; and the pains which Penn took to simplify the constitution, evince his foresight as well as the goodness of his heart. A man of Franklin's mind and genius, therefore, should not have echoed the language which at a later period was held by a discontented assembly, and should not have accused Penn of craftily endeavouring to lessen the freedom that he had promised. The journals of the assembly, which this *severe judge* himself published, bear testimony that "that body solemnly returned thanks to the proprietary for granting them more liberty than they had expected."* The proprietary seemed desirous of reducing to practice his own description of freedom, by making, in fact, the people "parties to those laws" which their representatives enacted. For this purpose all bills to be proposed were directed to be published, to enable the members of assembly, together with their constituents, in their respective counties, to deliberate upon the nature and tendency of each previous to the general session. Such is the character of the measures taken, involving the rights and immunities of the subject, till Penn's departure from the province, in 1684. It is needless to follow the numerous disputes between his deputies and the assembly during the period of his absence. No doubt, Blackwell was frequently perverse, and the assembly being imperfectly acquainted with their legislative duties, were frequently obstinate. As they sometimes fancied themselves omnipotent in legislation, Penn thought proper, on one

* Ebeling's History of Pennsylvania, translated from the German by Mr. Du Ponceau—Chap. iii. Hazard's Register, 1 vol. page 354.

occasion, to reprove them, and to insist upon the necessity of his ratification: "The assembly," says he, "as they call themselves, are not so without the governor and privy council—no speaker, clerk, or book, belongs to them—the people have their representatives in the privy council," &c.

On his second visit to the province in 1699, understanding that some of the inhabitants were dissatisfied with the act of settlement ratified by Markham in 1696, he proposed to them the substitution of another. The charter drawn by the assembly, and even more liberal in privileges than those which preceded it, was confirmed by the proprietary in every particular which had relation to *rights* and civil immunities; but those articles which concerned property and entrenched on his private estate, he cancelled, at once, as an improper interference and evincing an unbecoming rapacity. This being the last charter of privileges, it is useless to pursue the history further, except to remark that the discontents of the assembly subsequently were engendered and kept alive partly by a factious spirit; partly by the indiscretions and follies of the deputy governors; and partly by supposed civil and financial grievances which, in fact, had no existence. The bone of contention between most of the governors and the different assemblies, were the quit-rents, which the popular party affected to regard as unjust and oppressive. An attempt to collect them rendered a governor immediately unpopular. But they seem to have been a fair claim on the principles of compact, and as such were sanctioned in all the proprietary establishments of N. America. Oldmixon, in his history of Carolina, says, "every planter pays one penny an acre quit-rent, unless he buys it off." The same privilege of reducing their quit-rents, was accorded by Penn to the inhabitants. In his account of the province, published in 1681, immediately after the ratification of the

Royal Charter, and before a single adventurer had sailed for Pennsylvania, he thus alludes to the subject: "and for the *quit-rent*, one English shilling, or the value of it, yearly, for a hundred acres; which such as will, may now, or hereafter, *buy off, to an inconsiderable matter;* but as I hold by a small rent of the king, so must all hold of me, by a small rent, for their own security."—When the conviction became prevalent that an annual render, by way of feudal acknowledgment, was necessary to perfection of title, since the proprietary held by a similar tenure from the crown, the basis of the objection was instantly changed. It was now insisted that the quit-rents were not granted for the private advantage of the proprietary, but to defray the expenses of government. The fallacy of such a notion is too readily demonstrated to require an elaborate argument. Suffice it to say, that a quit-rent of one shilling for every hundred acres formed a constituent part of the conditions of sale; that the language any where used is not susceptible of a different meaning; that a public appropriation of it was not in the minds of the original purchasers; that forty shillings in hand and one shilling yearly for ever were the consideration expressed in all the deeds;* and that there is nothing to countenance the construction contended for either in the original frame of government or the subsequent political conventions. In every light in which it can be regarded, it was certainly reasonable and just; for the pecuniary consideration of the grant of Pennsylvania, in the first place, was a debt of $16,000 due from the crown to Admiral Penn, and large disbursements were unavoidable in peopling a wilderness. Penn, therefore, considered these quit-rents, which, though trifling in their individual amounts, were large in the

* See note in 1 Proud, p. 190.

aggregate, as contributing to his indemnity, and furnishing a lawful source of personal revenue.

Nor is there more basis for the complaint that he did not comply, in all reasonable matters, with the requisitions of the assembly. Governors, whose religious feelings and sentiments, or unpopularity from what cause soever, rendered them odious to the people, were removed. Charters, as we have seen, were altered in compliance with their prejudices or partialities. And it is well known that after the restoration of the council to its original state as established in 1683, and the recall of Blackwell, Penn offered to the former the nomination of three or five persons, of whom he would select one for deputy governor. On another occasion he offered to accept any individual for governor whom they might nominate. To conciliate the estranged feelings of the province and territories, he gave them the choice of an executive either from the council, which was composed of delegates chosen by the inhabitants at large, or from five commissioners, or a deputy governor, appointed by himself. The concessions he made to the territories were numerous and important; among them may be enumerated his direction that the sessions of the assembly should be held at Newcastle once in three times for the convenience of their members; and his apportionment of their share of the public burden according to their ability. In short, without a minute recapitulation, it may be affirmed that he promptly rendered every assistance calculated to promote the ultimate advantage of the province, consistently with a regard to what he esteemed his own interests. All must own, who look impartially at the transactions of the times, that he had to deal with a querulous and suspicious assembly, too intent upon the enlargement of their own privileges properly to appreciate those of the proprietary. Though many who composed

it were men of acuteness and information, and all of them estimable as individuals and neighbours, yet the mass were *novi homines* in legislation, and had not studied very deeply the science of artificial rights and duties. William Penn was a man of refined and comprehensive intellect, who had dived below the surface in the philosophy of life and manners, and who had consecrated his being to the cause of religion and philanthropy. With these differences between them, it required something more ethereal than man however sublimated by piety, to hear with equanimity their crude objections to schemes of a high moral tendency, and their pragmatical interference in matters involving his plainest rights. As an example of the former, the assembly refused their concurrence to two bills framed and proposed by himself; one having for its object the protection of the Indians from existing abuses; and the other, the melioration of the negroes by regulating their morals and marriages. The introduction of articles into the draft of a charter presented to him for signature in 1701, for limiting the price of land; appropriating the bay-marshes to the public; and controlling his disposition of property contiguous to Philadelphia, may be cited as an instance of the latter. Nor was an indecorous and infamous letter, supposed to be the production of the speaker, David Lloyd, of factious memory, addressed and privately conveyed to the proprietary, wanting to estrange his affections from the provincial assembly. It is not surprising, therefore, that he could not always understand their remonstrances as literally correct, and that he should hesitate about the removal of Governor Evans, who, though perhaps on the whole deservedly disesteemed, may have been less criminal than represented. The efforts of Evans to raise a militia in defiance of the religious sentiments of the colonists, and the false alarms which he excited to prove the

faith or try the courage of the people, by circulating rumours that an enemy was approaching the city, though amusing, are altogether indefensible and improper.*

Among the imputations cast upon Penn by the assembly and the latter annalists, is one of serious import, and which, though in its offensive part destitute of foundation so far as I have been able to discover, shall receive a passing notice. It is that he gave private instructions to his deputies different from his public orders, and in violation of the charter. That private instructions were given at critical periods, considering the character of the popular elements, is highly probable; and the necessity of such a procedure appears to have been suggested by the plainest principles of expediency. I have not, however, met with an instance of the kind, and diligence of search has not been wanting; far less that he ever attempted an invasion of their chartered privileges. Akin to this, in point of justice, is the reproach of a recent historian, that he considered his frame of government, not as a contract between himself and the settlers, but as the gift of his special grace and revocable at his own pleasure. It is curious to trace the origin of this reflection. The Historical Review asserts that in 1686, he ordered the withdrawal of the charter by his commissioners;† this is repeated by Chalmers and Belknap; and after them, Mr. Gordon, departing a little from the

* The fever into which he threw the good people of the colony by these mischievous *alarms*, may be imagined by the following distich referring to them, extracted from an Almanac of 1705:

"Wise men wonder, good men grieve,
Knaves invent, and fools believe, &c."

† See this refuted in a note to Ebeling's History of Pennsylvania, 1 vol. Hazard's Register, p. 357.

current in which they had so unresistingly glided, produces the charge that Penn, presuming it to be the offspring of his special favour, supposed that he possessed the power of revocation. Both these accusations are without the slightest evidence, except that which brings proof of unpardonable negligence and inattention on the part of the accusers. It is certain Penn imputed to the provincial council repeated infringements of the charter, which amounted, in his estimation, to a forfeiture, if he chose to avail himself of the advantage.* The correctness of this view is too obvious to require the aid of legal principles. A convention, the stipulations of which have been violated by one party, must surely be void or not, at the discretion of the other.

Several of the later historians, in the zeal of crimination or affected independence, have gone still further, and charged upon Penn the desire to exempt his proprietary estates from taxation. I do not agitate the question as to the right of a proprietary to this immunity—few perhaps will contend for such a right, I deny that during the life of William Penn it was once the subject of dispute. It was claimed not by himself but his successors, and even the Historical Review, upon which most of the subsequent chronicles have implicitly depended for the political misdeeds of Penn, confines it to them.† The contest began some time after his demise, and was carried on with most acrimony after the resignation of Hamilton, and chiefly, if not wholly, under the administration of Morris. William Penn, who contributed so largely to the disbursements of government, would probably have esteemed

* See Penn's letter to his commissioners, 1686, and letter to the council in the same year. In the latter he observes, "that the charter was forfeited if he would take advantage of it."

† The language used in the Review, p. 83, where it is first mentioned, is, "the *present proprietaries* insist, &c."

his exemption from greater grievances than this, a striking manifestation of personal kindness, and worthy of very grateful expressions to the Assembly. But very far from this is the fact; he was suffered to complain, and for years to reiterate the complaint, that the colony neglected not only the fulfilment of its promise to reimburse him for his accumulated expenses, but totally disregarded his urgent solicitations for the payment of his quit-rents. Some even resisted the demand, and it is related, that Joshua Carpenter, one of the wealthiest individuals of the province, by the advice of his counsel, D. Lloyd, suffered distress and contested the claim in court. This hostility on the part of some and the indifference of others, he esteemed, as they undoubtedly amounted to, a hardship; since the province was granted to him by Charles II., as an indemnity for an existing debt, and his expenditures, so early as 1685, according to his own estimate, exceeded his returns the sum of £6000. In 1694 his pecuniary exigencies induced him to solicit his friends in the province, to procure one hundred individuals, each of whom would advance him £100 for four years without interest. He writes to J. Logan in 1704, "Oh! Pennsylvania, what hast thou cost me! Above £30,000 more than I ever got by it." His embarrassments in 1709, obliged him to mortgage his proprietary estate for £6,600; and three years afterwards, when his necessities were very various and pressing, he resolved upon relinquishing it to Queen Anne for the sum of £20,000. It is well known, however, that though £12,000 was ultimately agreed upon as the consideration, and Penn received a part of the purchase money, the contract was subsequently declared void, by the concurring opinions of the crown lawyers and the ministry. It is not pretended that his pecuniary distresses arose entirely from his connection with the province; for his disbursements at court and

in Ireland, as he himself acknowledges, were enormous; and an iniquitous steward, according to Besse and Oldmixon, exhausted his resources, and restrained his liberty within the privilege of the Fleet. But that his diversified munificence to the Indians and the province, as well as the parsimonious returns of the latter, contributed to the catastrophe, cannot admit of a doubt. Governor Evans, with what propriety I shall not now inquire, in one of his messages, says, "that the Proprietary, who, it was well known, had hitherto supported this government, had been frequently solicited, upon the treatment he had met with, to resign and throw up all without further care, &c." Clarkson says, "in America he had sacrificed a princely fortune for the public good." Penn himself says, in reference to the neglect on the part of the colony of his remittances, "that he would spend his private estate to discharge a public station." And as exemplifying his disinterested generosity towards the colony, it may be mentioned, that he declined accepting, in 1683, the impost on the exportation of certain articles offered him by the Assembly. From different motives than of pecuniary gain, however, he consented to receive a small duty on the importation of foreign wines and spirituous liquors in the following year, but this miserable pittance, we are informed, was slowly and partially collected. Surprise has sometimes been expressed that the fortune of William Penn should be embarrassed, when the proprietary estates in Pennsylvania, under his successors, were estimated by Dr. Franklin at the enormous amount of £10,000,000 sterling. If his own computation be entitled to credit, his losses, up to 1704, were very considerable; and he agreed, as we have seen, in 1712, within six years of his demise, to part with all that remained for £12,000, being £4000 less than the original consideration. But it must be recollected that a

happy state of tranquillity, for the space of several years, succeeded the death of Penn; during which period, an unexampled increase of emigration, and the consequent extension of commerce, gave a new and golden prospect to the colonists; while land, commanding a ready sale to fresh swarms of successive adventurers, rose in price and swelled the coffers of the proprietaries.

William Penn's treatment of the Indians, though distinguished less by the dictates of justice than those of warm-hearted and benevolent generosity, has been reproached as emanating from the sordid motives of policy and selfishness. It is certainly not the doctrine of that charity "which thinketh no evil," to suppose because benign offices and interest concur, that all the benefactions rendered and pains submitted to, are to be ascribed to the exclusive influence of the latter. It is, in effect, blotting from the history of human actions all that is noble, praiseworthy, and exalted; for whose interest, both here and hereafter, is it not to discharge the duties of justice and beneficence? We must believe, in opposition to all the characteristic features of Penn, that he was capable of the most detestable hypocrisy, before we can impute to the influence of interest, all his zealous efforts in the cause of enlightening and benefiting the Indians. I do not perhaps place his exertions in this field, on too high a ground, when I assume that a deep religious sense of duty inspired and hallowed all his endeavours. In his petition to Charles II. for a charter, he declares one of his leading objects to be, "the glory of God by the civilization of the poor Indians." One of the considerations mentioned in the celebrated Charter itself, is his desire to reclaim and subdue, by kind and tender treatment, the wild dispositions of these children of nature.* Oldmixon, who, as he was a furious

* The language of the charter is, "Whereas our trusty and well beloved

revolutionist, entertained feelings inimical to William Penn, for his attachment to James II., bears the most honourable testimony to the disinterestedness and humanity with which he behaved towards the aborigines. In his account of the British colonies he tells us that Penn, previous to his departure from the province in 1684, had made a league of amity with *nineteen Indian nations*, and that he spent "some thousand pounds to instruct, support and oblige them." He admits that his bounty contributed to impair his estate; and gives all praise to the laws which he framed for protecting them against the abuse and cupidity of the settlers.* A contemporary writer,† after lauding the wisdom of his general laws and the uniform equity of his administration, speaks in terms of the highest eulogy of "his kind, just and prudent treatment of the native Indians." Indeed, at that day, it must have excited both wonder and admiration, that he should recognise as equal and treat with lenity, hordes of infidel savages who were accustomed to be considered by Europeans as the legitimate objects of violence, rapine and murder. In a word, touching the subject of motive, if evidence demonstrating his instant and continued recognition of their title to exclusive property in the soil till surrendered; if unremitting vigilance over their rights; munificent expenditure of money

subject, William Penn, Esq., son and heir of Sir William Penn, deceased, out of a commendable desire to enlarge our British empire, and promote such useful commodities, as may be of benefit to us and our dominions, as also to reduce the savage natives by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society and Christian religion, hath humbly besought leave of us," &c.

* See also on this subject, Mr. Roberts Vaux's Anniversary Discourse delivered before the Historical Society, Jan. 1, 1827, in Memoirs, 2 vol. part I.

† Anderson.

for their physical benefit; fervent endeavours for their moral and mental melioration; and the scrupulous redemption of every pledge or promise, be sufficient to authorise a favourable interpretation, the solution of the question is void of difficulty. It only requires an eye to glance through the history of his transactions with this helpless and untutored race, from the period of the first treaty in 1682, to the time of his final separation from the province, and even up to the year 1712, to be convinced of the existence of a zeal and magnanimity which can only be explained by referring them to a fervid, conscientious benevolence. No spectacle can be more beautiful than that of the first treaty, which presents a ruthless band of barbarian warriors, whose delight were undistinguishing bloodshed and brutal carnage, tamed and overcome by the voice of Christianity and peace. On this victory, it has been remarked, modern history may dwell with pleasure; and we want not the testimony of Voltaire and the Abbe Raynal—though estimable in themselves—to the fidelity with which the stipulations were performed,—to ensure a conviction that the common God of the Christian and the Indian, guarded the place and sanctified the meeting. As the character of Penn's negotiations with the aborigines is so generally known that a reference to them in detail, can only be the repetition of a story often told, I shall merely observe that the affection they ever retained and expressed for the good *Onas*, is a gratifying and conclusive attestation of his justice, sincerity, and beneficence.*

* See De Witt Clinton's address before the New York Historical Society in 1811, where it is mentioned that the Shawanese, who had been subjugated by the Five Nations, were permitted by Penn to settle in the western part of Pennsylvania.

Having now disposed of the charges which concern William Penn as proprietary of Pennsylvania, I come to the discussion of the dispositions which have been attributed to him, considered as a man and a Christian. I approach these with reluctance, not solely on account of their intrinsic delicacy, but because most of the reflections have been made or repeated by Mr. Gordon in his recent history of Pennsylvania. It is a subject of regret that a history which discovers creditable research, care, and precision, should have given its sanction to opinions involving the reputation of an individual, whose illustrious deeds form one of the brightest pages in the national annals. Independence is necessary to the integrity of narrative, and when, as the champion of truth and the dispenser of justice, the historian perceives impropriety of action or obliquity of motive, and has proofs not to be controverted—facts unequivocal and superior to distrust or explanation—he is bound in honour and in conscience fearlessly to record the fruit of his investigations. But it is certainly a more pleasing task to present unveiled the beauty and dignity of virtue, where nothing appeared but the deformity of vice—to remove the film of prejudice and blot out the errors of misconception. It was with pain, therefore, that we saw scattered over Mr. Gordon's book, the charges, that the province was too quiet, monotonous, and circumscribed for Penn's ambitious longing after distinction; that the gratifications of the court of St. James were too alluring for the lifeless tedium and unattractive obscurity of such a residence; that he sacrificed his time and fortune in the pursuit of fame; and that having drunk deeply in common with his sect, "of the puritanical spirit which drew its jurisprudence from the Old Testament," his laws in reference to the minor morals of society were unnecessarily severe.*—

* See Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, pages 71. 83. 88. 176.

Perhaps of all the imputations which have been brought to sully the memory of Penn, that which ascribes to him worldly ambition, is the least susceptible of support. The solemnity of his ministerial or pastoral character—his life spent in acts of unostentatious benevolence—his habitual self-denial—his superiority to the utmost inflictions of sectarian fervour—as they should have protected him from such a suspicion—are all directly at variance with the probability of its truth. A synoptical view of his life will abundantly repel the charge.

The brilliant prospects offered to William Penn from the rank of his family, and the political connections of his father, were sacrificed or relinquished, at an early age, by his adherence to a despised sect. Neither contempt nor reproaches, the indignation of a doting parent nor repeated imprisonments, were capable of affecting the self-denying tenacity of his purpose. Reviled for the adoption of a garb and manners esteemed uncouth and repulsive, he was shunned by the companions of his youth; while his disregard for the rituals of the national church induced the belief that he was an enemy to religion. No course of conduct could be more at war with the suggestions of ambition than that which he pursued, in defiance both of the entreaties of Sir William, and the uplifted and powerful arm of secular authority. In opposition to the sentiments of all who could accelerate his rise, or promote his interests, in England, he devoted the powers of his mind to the grand scheme of universal toleration. He made it the ground-work of his social system in Pennsylvania; to promote it he renounced fortune, and subjected himself to all the evils arising from exasperated sectarian zeal. Reports the most injurious to his pretensions, as a Quaker, were circulated against him, in consequence of these exertions. He was called a Jesuit—declared to have been educated at St. Omer's—to have taken orders at Rome—

obtained a dispensation to marry—and officiated, in many instances, as a priest at Whitehall, St. James's, and elsewhere.* So fierce and loud were his enemies, and so serious the nature of some of the charges, that he was for a temporary period abandoned by the most estimable of his associates. Among it all he was capable of using language such as the following: "I have been made willing to relinquish and forsake all the vain fashions, enticing pleasures, alluring honours, and glittering glories of this transitory world, and readily to accept the portion of a fool, from this deriding generation, and become a man of sorrows, and a perpetual reproach to my familiars."†

His attendance at court was prompted by pure and disinterested views of benefit to his sect, his colony, and the cause of religious freedom. Through his instrumentality the privileges of the first were enlarged by the dispensation of oaths; wrongs inflicted upon the second, were redressed and its rights restored; and the latter was promoted and finally recognised. We have many proofs of his ready access to the monarch; and we are not left without the reasons, as well as consequences resulting from it. James II. while duke of York, was the friend of Sir William; and upon his accession to the throne, having promised protection to the son, transferred to him his warm attachment for the father. William Penn was held in so high esteem that he enjoyed the royal presence in exclusion of the best peers of the realm, and was permitted to entertain confidential discourse with the sovereign for hours together. Matters, it is related, of the utmost secrecy and importance were communicatedto him with freedom. What an opportunity was here presented for the gratification of ambition; for aggrandizement and office! Butin

* See Penn's reply to Popple's letter for a refutation of these charges.

† "Innocency with her Open Face, &c."—written while a prisoner in the tower.

the whole course of his correspondence with James, from the period of his accession to his flight into France, we do not see a single instance of interested solicitation. He derived from it neither personal nor pecuniary advantage; no emolument of any kind, or function that could satisfy the pruriency of an aspiring man. It was the instrument only of doing good to others. The royal sun-shine in which he seemed to bask, while its genial and invigorating rays were freely imparted to all for whom it was solicited, only served to dry up *his* means, and to stop the fair current of *his* prospects. To it, in a great measure, may be attributed the calumnies of Bishop Burnet, the insinuations of Lord Littleton, the hue and cry of the high church party, the temporary deprivation of his province, and the other numerous injuries to which he was subjected in the early part of the subsequent reign. His mission to the Hague was signalised by an act of private justice, which reflects upon him distinguished honour. At his urgent request, the king permitted him to invite the return to England of the illustrious Locke, then a voluntary exile in Holland on account of an arbitrary divesture of his rights at Oxford. The act of toleration which passed during the reign of William and Mary, has been justly ascribed to the impression produced by his writings and conversation, both upon the king, while Prince of Orange, and the people. He laboured not merely for toleration but the removal of tests: and it was in reference to this subject, at the Hague, that he is said to have irritated Burnet who was endeavouring to persuade the prince against giving it his sanction. The discussion of the topic left Burnet in a fever which displays its effects by a sneer, in his famous "History of his own Times," whenever the occasion justifies an allusion to Penn. It cannot be necessary to detail the evidences of the zeal or the amplitude of his efforts in regard to his sect or colony;

suffice it to say, that in every emergency he was the eloquent and successful organ of both. But the public benefactions which he was the means of dispensing, are not the most amiable fruits of his influence and familiarity with James. Bernard Croese relates that Penn's house and gates were always thronged with suppliants, desiring him to present their addresses to his majesty; and that sometimes "*more than two hundred*" were to be seen soliciting an audience. His fearless and laudable conduct in writing a letter to the king on behalf of the fellows of Magdalen College, after the royal determination had been made and expressed to elect a Catholic to the vacant presidentship, is attested in highly honourable terms by Creech, Dr. Sykes, and Sewel, in his "History of the Quakers." In giving an account of this epistle to Dr. Charlett, Creech says, that Penn nobly told the king, that he required a breach of their oaths, and that "such mandates were a force on the conscience and not very agreeable to his other gracious indulgences." I cannot omit an additional instance of the private favours conferred through his agency, to elucidate the disinterested benevolence of his leading purposes. It is mentioned by the Earl of Buchan in his lives of Fletcher of Saltoun, and Thomson. Penn, having become acquainted with the Scotch fugitives in Holland, most of whom were persecuted Presbyterians, on his return to England, advised the measure of an indemnity and recall. Sir Robert Stewart of Coltness, who was among them, availed himself of the indemnity and returned to his native country. Some time after, Penn, meeting him in London, congratulated him on the pleasure of realizing the "*mihi me reddentis agelli*" of Horace. Sir Robert sighed and informed him that he had indeed returned home, but that he was stripped of his possessions which were in the occu-

pancy of the Earl of Arran. Penn waited immediately on the Earl, who alleged in justification that he had had received no other recompense than this estate for his troublesome and expensive embassy to France. He was reminded in return that what he had accepted, belonged to another; and told that if he did not instantly give an order for £200 to defray the expenses of Sir Robert to Scotland, and present security for the payment of a hundred a year, for his subsistence till political matters were adjusted, it should be made "*many thousands out of his way with the king.*" This menace produced an immediate compliance with Penn's demand, and after the revolution which happened in two years, Sir Robert's estate was wholly restored with the rents that had been intermediately received, subject only to the reduction of the advancements referred to. Thus was Penn's connection with the reigning prince, employed in the unostentatious discharge of the offices of public good and private justice, seeking less the removal of the odious suspicions which attached to himself than the accomplishment of his great and generous projects.

It is easy to perceive that his engagement in such vast and extensive concerns should necessarily prevent a visitation to the province during its continuance. The state of affairs, it is well known, consequent upon the revolution of 1688 which deprived James and his posterity of the throne, vested the regal office in William and Mary, and excluded papists from the succession, rendered Penn's absence from England injudicious if not dangerous. But his private epistles to his friends in Pennsylvania, prior to and during this perilous period, bespeak the strength of his desire to visit them, and the ardour of his attachment and solicitude. His valedictory letter on leaving the province in 1684, contains this beautiful apostrophe to Philadelphia: "And thou, Philadelphia,

the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what care, what service, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee! Oh, that thou mayst be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee; that faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness, thou mayst be preserved to the end:—my soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayst stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power:—my love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eye!—The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee, to his glory and thy peace." Immediately after his arrival in England, he writes, "I hope to be with you next fall if the Lord prevent not—I long to be with you," &c. In an epistle written in 1686, after alluding to the obstacles which prevented him from leaving England, he says, "But this I will say, no temporal honour, or profit, can tempt me to decline poor Pennsylvania, as unkindly used as I am; and no poor slave in Turkey desires more earnestly, I believe, for deliverance, than I do to be with you; wherefore be contented a while, and God in his time will bring us together," &c. Two years after, in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, he says, "No honour, interest or pleasure in this part of the world, shall be able to check my desires to live and die among you." Again, he writes, "I am here serving God, Friends, and the *nation;* which I hope God will reward to mine and you." A brief period posterior to this, when he had actually commenced preparations for a voyage, he was arrested and brought before the Lords of the Council, upon the accusation of holding a treasonable correspondence with the deposed James, and plotting his return. No sooner was he acquitted of this

charge, than he was imprisoned in pursuance of a proclamation by the Queen, during the absence of William in Ireland. Again he was ready to sail for America, when the death of the great George Fox arrested his purpose; and at that very time while attending the interment of his friend, emissaries were in pursuit of him, on account of a diabolical crimination, under oath, of the infamous Fuller. Prudence now suggesting the propriety of privacy, and apprehending that if he joined the emigrants then about to sail for Pennsylvania, the circumstance would be viewed as an indication of guilt, he determined upon remaining in England. A second proclamation having denounced him as an accomplice in the conspiracy excited by the Earl of Clarendon for the restoration of the dethroned monarch, he judged it proper still to consult his safety by continuing in retirement. The seclusion which he sought, I may observe in passing, was enlivened by the occasional visits of his friends, among whom was the great author of "The Essay on the Human Understanding." Locke volunteered to procure his pardon; but as forgiveness pre-supposed the commission of crime, Penn delicately declined the offer. During this recession from the concerns of the external world, his active mind produced, besides the prefaces to the works of Barclay and Burnyeat, a variety of treatises, intended principally to harmonize conflicting views in his own society; to vindicate their doctrines from recent perversions, and to demonstrate the feasibility of maintaining between nations perpetual peace.* The merits of these several performances

* Among the works written during this period, are "Just Measures," "The Key," "The new Athenians no noble Bereans," "Fruits of Solitude," "An Essay towards the present and future Peace of Europe."

are not the subject of discussion; they are alluded to merely as showing the current of his thoughts, and that, under every variety of distress, he was not unmindful of the principles for which he had been so long contending. In the midst of these afflictions and labours he received exaggerated intelligence of the unhappy condition of his province—of strong dissentions between the province and territories; and warm animosities excited by the arts of a furious and violent schismatic.* The king, already prejudiced against him, upon being informed of these disasters, deprived him, without hesitation, of the colony as incapable of governing. It may easily be conceived how the effect of these accumulated calamities was increased, at this period, by domestic grief, in the sickness and death of his cherished and amiable consort. The measure of his sufferings was now full. Being the object of numerous accusations, he began to be suspected and forsaken by those who had long extended to him the hand of friendship; his fortune was gone with the province in which it had been generously expended; and even the partner of his bosom, who had so often alleviated his cares, had left him friendless and alone. Amid these complicated sorrows and misfortunes he still felt a parental solicitude for infant Pennsylvania; being anxious to shelter from the rudeness of a stranger's grasp, the tender plant he had so fondly nurtured. He wished to visit it, to protect from infringement the constitution he had framed, and the great principles of freedom, peace, toleration, and clemency, upon which it was founded. But the embarrassments of a crippled fortune forbade the accomplishment of such an intention; and after his honourable acquittal, his return into favour with the king, the restitution of his province, and his restoration to society, his desire to go thither continued unabated, and its execution was only

* Keith.

prevented by the exigencies of his affairs. The interval between this period and 1699, when he actually visited Pennsylvania, was filled up by labours in the ministry and the composition of many useful treatises, all in unison with the doctrines he had advocated, breathing unrestrained freedom in religious creed, and inculcating the useful lessons of probity and virtue. It is universally known that he revisited the province with the intention of passing there the residue of his life, and that his departure from it was rendered necessary for its preservation. A circumstance, according to Sutcliff, which happened during his sojourn here, may be mentioned as tending to unfold or elucidate the prevailing dispositions of the proprietary of Pennsylvania. The curiosity, felt by most of the inhabitants to see the person of their governor on his second arrival, was shared by a youth, twelve years of age, a son of the individual with whom Penn had taken up his residence. The boy crept softly up a flight of steps on the outside of the house, leading to Penn's apartment: and on peeping through the latchet-hole, beheld with awe the governor on his knees in supplication to the Deity. The impression, produced by this spectacle upon the mind of the lad, was not obliterated when the lengthened shadows of life had anonunced to him the approach of its evening. To those who believe that William Penn, or his sect, draw "their jurisprudence from the Old Testament," may be recommended a reference to the numerous doctrinal productions of the former, particularly his "Key," published in 1693. Any one, however, indifferently selected from his works, will amply display the *misinformation* of the impugner.—This glance, rapid and superficial as it is, at the prominent objects of Penn's labours, is sufficient to show that the charges of ambition and neglect of his colony are without adequate foundation. The beneficent employments

of his leisure; the pure motives as well as beneficial consequences of his intercourse with James II.; his many neglected opportunities for political or personal promotion; his sacrifices for Pennsylvania; his watchfulness over its rights; and the repeated expressions of his anxiety for its welfare; are all arrayed in opposition. In fine, it must be evident to the candid examiner of the character of William Penn, that though a rigid analysis of its several parts may discover the slight blemishes or venial weaknesses of humanity, their union presents as admirable a whole—as transcendantly good and great in point of general structure—as the page of biography exhibits.

MEMORIALS

OF

COUNTRY TOWNS AND PLACES

IN PENNSYLVANIA.

AS DRAWN UP BY

JOHN F. WATSON,

AND

PRESENTED TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Read at a Meeting of the Council, Feb. 17, 1830.

COUNTRY TOWNS AND PLACES.

In preserving the present notices of the early settlement of several country towns and places, we have been led by a wish to show an example of what may be done, and thereby to stimulate others, who have the means to contribute to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania or otherwise, what they can yet glean of the primitive settlements in our state.

We offer now to the reader some notices of Frankford, Chester County, Gwynned, Wilmington, Burlington, Bucks County, and Pennsburg, to wit:—

FRANKFORD.

There has been an opinion prevalent about Frankford village, that it derived its name from *Frank*, a black fellow, and *his ford*, where he kept a ferry for passengers on foot; but besides its looking too artificial to be true, there are obvious reasons against that cause of its name. I see it as early as 1701, referred to in a public petition concerning a road, under the name of Frankford; besides, it lies on the creek, the Indian Wingahocking, which comes from the "*Frankford* Company's land" in Germantown. It was their proper water passage to the river.

Jonathan Dickinson in 1715, writing respecting Fairman's land at "Frankford Creek," says, "*a ford* there will be very needful, and very expensive, as the winds drive the waters from the Delaware *over* much marshy land there."* For 220 acres he offers £400. It falls short in survey 37 acres, thus showing how vaguely it was first done. He says it cannot be surveyed on the marsh [now all converted into productive meadows, &c.] till the winter is so as to go over it on the ice. He states that 100 loads of timber were cut off it, because untenanted in the last winter, *by moon-light night*. Thus there were great depredators *then!* They probably cut it for staves and s timber.

In the year 1814, Christopher Kuhn of Frankford was digging a cellar foundation for a small store house, on Kinsey and Hille's present tanyard, on the Frankford creek, close to the bank where it is high; and at three feet depth he came to an earthen vessel highly glazed, which held about half a pint, and contained 100 pieces of various sizes and shapes of *silver* coin. None of it was left to be shown to me; the whole having been sold soon after to the silver smiths as old silver! On questioning him as to their character, he stated, there were many *cut pieces* of the size which would remain in cutting quarters and halves of dollars into sections of four pieces each. He observed dates to some as much as 300 years old. One piece was as large as a crown and was *square*. Two pièces had a tree on one side, and was marked *Massachusetts;* such a coin I have myself of the year 1652. On the whole, the vessel contained quite a treasure for a collector, and yet none were saved!

The aged Giles Gillingham who died at Franklin in 1825, at the age of 93 years, said that when he was a boy, it was

* Thos. Fairman had been a surveyor, who dwelt at the *Treaty Tree*.

quite common with him to play with Indian boys in the neighbourhood. Frankford then had but very few houses, and was often called Oxford after the name of its township. About the time of Braddock's defeat, there came an Indian from a distance, blowing a horn as he entered the Indians' place; they soon went off with him, and were no more seen near the place.

The Frankford Mill, now possessed by Mr. Duffield, was originally used as a mill by the *Swedes* before Penn landed. The earliest house in the place—now Wm. Kinsey's—near the same mill, was deeded to Yeamans Gillingham, by Penn's commissioners in 1695. The "Swedes Mill" was probably a *saw* mill, as *wind* mills were first used for grist.

It appears, by the minutes of council, that the inhabitants of Frankford petition in 1726, that the road may be *altered*, so as to have but *one* bridge in use, instead of the *two* then existing.

CHESTER COUNTY.

This county, one of the finest in the state, both in regard to soil and the excellence of its population, has long had an intelligent and observing people, careful to preserve the recollection of their fore-fathers, and to foster among them the last remains of the Indian race. Some fugitive facts, which have come to my knowledge, I here endeavour to preserve, to wit:—

William Worrall, who lived to near the age of a century, and who died within two or three years ago, a close observer of passing events, and strictly honest to relate them, in his last days, related in substance the following facts, to wit:—

He was born in Maple township, sixteen miles from

Philadelphia, on the 29th November, 1730. When he first visited Philadelphia, the court was held in the old court house. The few stores of the town were close by, and were kept like country stores now, each having a general assortment. The Philadelphia and Chester road, then called "the queen's road," was the only leading road in the county. From Gray's ferry to the city, he remembered only one house, the seat of John Kinsey, the same now near the Naval Asylum. In the country there were no carts, much less pleasure carriages. They hauled their grain on sleds to the stacks, where a temporary thrashing-floor was made. He assisted his father to carry on horseback 100 bushels of wheat to Charles Humphrey's mill in Haverford, which he sold for two shillings a bushel. The natural meadows and woods were the only pasture for their cattle; and the butchers from Philadelphia would come out and buy one, two, or three head of cattle, from such as could spare them as their surplus.

In the year 1755–56, the springs in his neighbourhood were lower than he has ever seen them since; an evidence of this fact is, the spring before his dwelling was dry, which has never occurred since; and Daniel Sharpless' race, on which Beatty has a tilt mill, was dried up. The oat crop nearly failed, being only a few inches high. The wheat was thin, but the grain heavy and of excellent quality.

He recollected when there were great quantities of wild turkeys; and a flight of pigeons which lasted two days—they flew in such immense flocks as to obscure the rays of the sun. Thomas Cobourn, Caleb Harrison, and Peter Heston, went out at night into Martin's bottom; and they told him that they could not hear each other speak. On viewing the place next morning, they found large limbs of the trees broken off, from the immense weight and pressure

of the lodgers. At one time a large bear made an inroad into the neighbourhood, and escaped with impunity, although great exertions were made to secure him.

He never saw coffee or tea until he was twenty years of age; then his father brought some tea from Philadelphia; and his aunt, who lived with them and had charge of the house, did not know how to use it until she received information from one of her more refined neighbours. This prudent conduct was not imitated by one of her incautious friends, who boiled the leaves and buttered them!

The marriage ceremony was much the same as at the present day. The bride rode to meeting behind her father, or next friend, seated on a pillion; after the ceremony, and when they were ready to return home, the pillion was placed behind the saddle of her husband. The dead were carried to the place of interment on the shoulders of four men—the coffin was swung on poles, in order that they might wind along the paths with more ease.

Some of the inhabitants, older than Mr. Worrall, pointed out to him the path of William Penn and his followers, where it crossed his farm in Ridley township. He has frequently on a certain part of it, in his rotation of ploughing, found nails, which he supposed to have belonged to some travellers.

William Mode, who lived on the west branch of Brandywine, Chester county, (he died in 1829,) states that he was born in the year 1742. That he remembered the Indians—men, women, and children—coming to his father's house to sell baskets, &c.; and that they used to cut and carry off bushes from his father's meadow, probably for mats to sleep on. The deer in his boyhood were so plenty, that their tracks in the wheat field, in time of snow, were as if marked by a flock of sheep: at one time his father brought

home two of them on his sled. Wild turkeys in the winter were often seen in flocks, feeding in the corn and buck-wheat fields. Foxes often carried off their poultry: a man who was thrashing, having seen one approaching the barn, he concealed himself, and with a club killed it. Squirrels, rabbits, racoons, pheasants, partridges, were very numerous, notwithstanding the severe winters. Snow knee deep, drifted in bleak places as high as the fences, and Brandywine was crossed by loaded wagons, on the ice, for weeks together.

Samuel Jefferis, who died in 1823 at the age of eighty-seven years, in the borough of West Chester, used to say he was one of the few who could remember so long back as to the time when deer were *plenty* in the woods of Chester county—when a hunter occasionally killed a bear—and when a few of the native Indians still inhabited their original fields. When he died he was followed to his grave by his brother, then ninety-two years of age.

Professor Kalm, when in this country, in 1748, as a traveller, notices the then state of the county of Chester. The forest he observed as unobstructed with underwood. Mulberry and tulip trees were common—grape vines were numerous, and the thorn apple abounded near the house. Most of the houses were wooden, of logs, and the crevices stopped up with clay instead of moss, as he saw used in Sweden. No valves were to be met with in their chimneys, and the people did not seem to know what he meant by them.

In the winter of 1823–4, my friend, I. J. Lewis, Esq., interested himself, and gratified the public, by some occasional notices, in the "Village Record," of the incidents of the olden times in Chester county.

GWYNNED.

The late venerable Jesse Foulke stated, in substance, the following facts concerning what he knew of the settlement of Gwynned, to wit:—

In the year 1698, the township was purchased of William Penn, by William Jones and Thomas Evans, and distributed among original settlers, to wit: William Jones and Thomas, Robert, Owen, and Cadwallader Evans, Hugh Griffiths, Edward Foulke, Robert Jones, John Hugh, and John Humphrey. Only the *two* last were then Friends—all were Welshmen; and all except the two Friends were churchmen. These held their meetings at Robert Evans'; and there Cadwallader Evans was in the practice to read from the Bible to the people.

But, as Cadwallader Evans himself related, he was going as usual to his brother Robert's, when passing near the road to Friends' meeting, held at John Hughs' and John Humphreys', it seemed as if he was impressed "to go down and see how the Quakers do." This he mentioned to his friends, at the close of his *own* meeting, and they all agreed to go to the Friends' the next time; and where they were all so well satisfied, that they never again met in their own worship.

In 1700, they built a log meeting, near where the present one stands. This gave place to a larger one of stone, 1712; and in 1823, that was removed for a still larger one.

I have given the foregoing recital, of the manner of Evans' convincement, in the words of Mr. Foulke; but his kinswoman, Susan Nancarro, who died lately at the age of eighty years, told it to me in a manner a little variant. She said, that the brothers read *the public services* of their church, and convened in a summer house. As one of the brothers was

once going to that place, he passed where William Penn was speaking, and willing to hearken to *him*, he became so earnestly convinced that way, that he succeeded to bring over all his brethren.

Mrs. Nancarro had often seen and conversed with her grand-father, Hugh Evans, who lived to be ninety years of age. When he was a boy, of twelve years of age, he remembered well that William Penn, with his daughter Letitia and a servant (in the year 1699 or 1700), came out on horseback to visit his father, Thomas Evans. Their house then was *superior*, in that it was of *barked* logs, a refinement surpassing the common rank. At that house, William Penn ascended steps *on the outside* to go to his bed-chamber; and the lad of twelve, being anxious to see all he could of so distinguished a man, went up afterwards to peep through the apertures at him; and there he well remembered to have seen him on his knees praying, and giving thanks to God for such peaceful and excellent shelter in the wilderness! What a subject for a painter! I heard Mrs. D. L. say, she also heard the same facts from old Hugh Evans.

There was at this time a great preparation among the Indians near there for some public festival. Letitia Penn, then a lively young girl, greatly desired to be present; but her father would not give his consent, although she entreated much. The same informant says, she run out chagrined, and seeming to wish for something to dissipate her regret, snatched up a flail near some grain, at which she began to labour playfully, when she inadvertently brought the unwieldy instrument severely about her head and shoulders; and was thus quickly constrained to retreat into the house, with quite a new concern upon her mind! This fact made a lasting impression upon the memory of the lad aforesaid, who then was a witness.

BURLINGTON.

I have preserved an original *autograph* descriptive of the first settlement of Burlington as known to Mrs. *Mary Smith*, a Friend, who arrived with the primitive colonists when she was but four years of age. The original paper may be curious to inspect, as it exhibits the first specimen of writing ever *learned* in our country.

"Robert Murfin and Ann his wife, living in Nottinghamshire, England, had one daughter born there in the year 1764, the 4th of the 2d month, named *Mary*, (the writer of this account, who married the first Daniel Smith of Burlington.) After that, they had a son called Robert.

"Some time after, it came in their minds to move themselves and family into West Jersey in America; and in order thereto, they went to Hull and provided provisions suitable for their necessary occasions,—such as fine flour, butter, cheese, with other suitable commodities in good store; then took their passage in the good ship called the Shield of Stockton, with Mahlon Stacey, Thomas Lambert, and many more families of good repute and worth: and in the voyage there were two died and two born; so that they landed as many as they took on board. And after about *sixteen weeks* sailing, or on board, they arrived at Burlington in the year 1678; this being the *first* ship that ever was known to come so high up the Delaware river. Then they landed and made some such dwellings as they could for the present time;—some in caves, and others in pallisade-houses secured. With that, the Indians, very numerous, but very civil, for the most part, brought corn and venison, and sold to the English for such things as they needed; so that the said English had some new supply to help their old stock, which may well

be attributed to the good hand of Providence, so to preserve and provide in such a wilderness.

"I may not omit some English that came the year before, which landed lower down the river, and were gotten to Burlington, who came up in some small vessel up to Burlington before us,—and was so consented to by the Indians.

"The first comers with the other that came near that time, made an agreement with the Indians for their land,—being after this manner:—From the river to such and such creeks, and was to be paid in goods, after this manner, say—so many match coats, guns, hatchets, hoes, kettles—two full boxes, with other materials, all in number as agreed upon of both Indians and English. When the goods were gotten from England and the Indians paid, then the above mentioned people surrendered some part of the land to settle themselves near the river;—for they did not dare to go far from it at first.

"I must not forget, that these valiant subjects, both to God and their king, did buy their land in Old England before they entered (upon this engagement,) and after all this, did submit themselves to mean living, taking it with thankfulness, mean and coarse; as pounding Indian corn one day for the next day; for there was no mill, except some few steed-mills, and (we) thought so well of this kind of hard living, that I never heard them say, 'I would I had never come!' which is worth observing, considering how plentifully they lived in England. It seems no other than the hand of God, so to send them to prepare a place for the future generations. I wish they that come after, may *consider these things*, and not be like the children of Israel after they were settled in the land of Canaan, forgetting the God of their fathers and following their own vanities; and so bring displeasure, in-

stead of the blessings of God upon themselves; which fall and loss will be very great on all such.

Now to return to Robert Murfin and his wife: after they came into this land, they had one son called *John;* and in the year 1681, they had another son called *William;* and in the year 1684, they had a daughter called *Johanah.* Robert and John died young.*

"It may be observed how God's providence made room for us in a wonderful manner, in taking away the Indians. There came a distemper among them so mortal that they could not bury all the dead. Others went away, leaving their town. It was said that an old Indian king spoke prophetically before his death and said, "the English should *increase* and the Indians decrease!"

An ancient printed small book, set forth about the year 1700 to promote the *Keithian* heresy, thus speaks of Burlington, to wit: "From parsimony they would buy no burial place there, but buried in the public street or highway." An acrostic too is made on the place of which a part reads thus, viz.

"Base as thy birth and *burial* like a thief,
Undone, when first conceiv'd beyond relief—
I've read the fates, and in these books can say
Nothing but shame to be thy destiny!"

It even accuses the Friends there of building their meeting house on T. Radyard's land, an absentee, and "when he arrived he demanded £15, which they refused"—"afterwards Sarah Farr conveys it as a gift to the loss of Radyard's heirs,

* "Mary Smith was found drowned with her horse, in the year 1739, near the Long Bridge in the Northern Liberties; supposed to have occurred from her intending to give her horse water, where it was very deep." That was then the direct and only "road to Burlington."

for she soon dies."—Such was the scandal which perverted the minds of some ill tempered religionists in that day.

WILMINGTON.

An aged gentleman of that place lately drew up some of his reminiscences of times by-gone to the following effect, to wit: "As there seems a desire in the present generation to hear from us old men what passed in our youth, I will herein state some few circumstances calculated to mark the passing changes of the times, to wit:

"When very young, I recollect being near where the lower wharf now stands, and seeing a vessel of two masts anchored in the stream, with her decks full of negroes, slaves from Africa. This was probably about the year 1760, and had been sent among us by the British owners from the West Indies. On or about the year 1764 a gang or drove of slaves, about twenty or thirty in number, were passing my father's door driven by their owners for sale. As Friends at that time held slaves, my mother purchased a boy of eight or nine years of age, who long remained in the family, and was finally manumitted.

"Caleb Seal, who died in the borough in 1824, in his ninety-third year, informed the reminiscent, that he knew Wilmington when a calf of common size furnished fresh meat sufficient for the inhabitants on an ordinary market day. Indian corn is an article of modern culture as a crop in Chester county; as he remembers his friends from Concord and Birmingham, used to go to New Castle neighbourhood to buy a few bushels every fall. The millers of Brandywine had their supply of that article from the south of this state and Maryland: now Chester county alone, could give a supply. The method of culture is also changed; for then we made a hill

round the stalks. The grazing of cattle was not attended to, as now, for the market. Few fatted more than served their own use. Within the last twenty-five years, the number of fat cattle have been tripled.

The first green silk umbrella seen, was brought by Captain Bennet from Lisbon, for his wife or eldest daughter; the second by John Ferris, for his first wife Lydia, from the same place and by the same captain; and I believe the third, was by my father from the West Indies; and I remember being so much ashamed of it, that I held it but a few minutes over me, while walking by his side one day. I suppose about the year 1770.

At and about the year 1765, the country people were supplied with spring and fall goods by attending fairs, held then in all the towns and villages. These were well attended by old and young of both sexes; some to buy, and many for fun and frolic. The young men, if the day was fine, came to the fair by hundreds, (with a fine lassie along side,) in their shirt sleeves nicely plaited and crimped as high as the elbow, above which, it was tied with a string of coloured tape or ribband called sleeve strings. Their coats were tied behind the saddle; they had thin soaled shoes for dancing; they wore two pair of stockings; the inner pair generally white, and the outer pair generally blue yarn; the top rolled neatly below the breeches knee band, so as to show the inner white, and guard it from the dirt from the horse's feet; for boots were not known. I never recollect to have seen a solitary pair of boots worn, although I must have seen some thousands of young men going to, or at, or from, the fairs. But now I see the same class of persons generally in boots, and umbrellas are carried by them on horseback. At that day a man booted and covered by an umbrella, would have been exposed to scoffs, as a vain effeminate. When we

visited in the country, they gave us of their best mush and milk, apple and peach pie; cheese curds and new milk; sometimes cream, with home made wine and sugar; bread and cheese and custards; but no tea or coffee was seen. The same families have since furnished their guests with coffee, tea, or chocolate, and with preserves of many kinds. The dinnr t ables too, groaning under its weight of ham, poultry, beef, mutton, &c.; and the second course, a new thing, consisting of puddings, pies, tarts, custards, &c.

Another reminiscent thus speaks of the ancient and venerable "*Trinity Church*," originally founded by the Swedes, when they possessed the site of Wilmington under the name of Christiana. It was built in 1698, and stands near the Christiana, not far from the spot where the first Swedes located themselves in 1631. The presumption is, that a church was built anterior to this, at some distance on the other side of the creek, the site of which is marked by a few tomb stones near beneath the shade of an apple orchard.

BUCKS COUNTY.

A descendant of Phineas Pemberton has shown me the original rough draft minutes of the court of quarter sessions, as kept by said Pemberton, acting as *clerk* from the year 1684 to 1693, inclusive.* They are comprised in nearly three quires of cap paper, and are written in a kind of court hand, which is difficult to read. I notice that the actions are mostly managed without attorneys. None appear till

* This Phineas Pemberton came from Bolton, in England. In 1701, he was settled at Philadelphia as a member of council—he died in 1702. He was grandfather of James Pemberton, a distinguished public Friend, who died in 1809, aged eighty-six years.

1690, when Patrick Robinson, once the clerk of the provincial council, in Philadelphia, appeared to manage a cause of value against Hugh Marsh, another attorney.

These minutes comprise appointments for laying out new roads, choice of constables, and acknowledgments of land conveyances. The crimes are for selling liquors to the Indians; £ 5 fine. Swearing is fined. One case of suspected murder. Sale of a black slave from Virginia for fourteen years for petit larceny. A case of Charles Thomas, an apprentice, convicted by *confession* of being the father of an illegitimate child. The punishment was—twenty lashes to himself—ten lashes to the girl, and then to be obliged to be married. Some of our genteel moderns, who pay carelessly three hundred dollars, would deem this quite an outrage on their persons, and "sacred honours."

I have seen also with the same owner, the original MS. book of Phineas Pemberton, while acting as register (the first) for Bucks county. It is a quarto cap, of two quires thickness. The characters of the writing are antique and difficult to read, and the cover is of Indian-tanned buckskin. It contains the first wills and letters of administration of the year 1683, and subsequent—the first ever made in the country. It contains also, the records of marriages, and the parties present. A full list of all the first population, giving the names of each family; where born in Europe; by what vessel, and where arrived; the names of all their children; when born, and where died. Also the names of all their servants, and the terms of their service. They generally are to serve four years for their passage, and to receive at the end thereof fifty acres of land, and a cow, &c. Some of those nominal *servants* made in time some of the first people in the country! A more competent *census* of primitive society, is not be found of any people. To the people of that county,

as showing the origin and state of their forefathers, it must be a curious relic.

In my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, from pages 544 to 575, are contained several letters from my friend Samuel Preston, Esq. descriptive of his reminiscences of the early men of note in Bucks county, and of the settlement of Buckingham and Solesbury, &c. The great Indian Walk of 1722. The Indians, &c. They are too long to be used in my present annals, but may be consulted for any future needful historical purpose. In meantime several similar facts are already told in *print* in the printed memoirs of the Historical Society, volume I., article four, Dr. Henry Watson, of Bucks county. But those who want to find Edward Marshall's *silver mine*, from which he made the real silver dollars, by which he lived easily, from being before a poor hunter, must see the manuscripts! He was prosecuted for counterfeiting, but had to be acquitted. They were too good.

PENNSBURY.

It has been matter of surprise to some, why Penn so soon provided for *a country residence*, even when *society* for mutual benefit was so necessary at the early rise of Philadelphia. A cause may perhaps be found in his predilections for a *country life*, as expressed in his admirable letter of *Family Counsel*, to wit: "Let my children (he said) be husbandmen and house-wives. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. Of cities and towns of concourse *beware*. The world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and get wealth there. *A country life and estate I like best for my children.*"

A letter of William Penn's says, the place cost him £700, and he intended to settle permanently there—saying, "I should have returned to it in '86, or '89 at furthest."

In 1705, he says, "whether I surrender to the crown, or not, shall make no difference as to my coming and inhabiting there"—he says he bought there of an old Indian king. Of course it was a royalty once! It was called Sapassin.

The original tract of Pennsbury contained, in 1684, about 8431 acres, from which were abstracted at various times afterwards about 1888 acres granted to others, and 400 acres besides to Arthur Cook, a public friend of Philadelphia.

At this place William Penn had a mansion, sometimes called his "*palace*," some of the finer materials of which were made in England. There he made the country residence of his family, when here in 1700–1, seeing there much company in his public capacity. The mansion and outhouses were neglected afterwards in his absence. A water reservoir on the top of the mansion got to leaking, and otherwise it fell into premature decay, so that it was determined, at last, to pull it down and erect a better in its place. This house was taken down just before the war of Independence. The length of that war, and the final exclusion of that family from its former government, prevented any rebuilding. After the peace, the whole estate was sold out of the Penn family, and all that now remains on the premises to mark the former location is the present frame dwelling-house of Richard Crozier, the same which had been Penn's brew-house.

Having had, in my possession, the book of MS. letters from William Penn to James Harrison, his chief steward—*i. e.* his general agent of the years 1681 to 1687,—[vide the letters in form in my MS. Annals, pages 164 to 171, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.] I have here selected such extracts, as will serve to show the character of the

houses, &c. once made or intended, as the residence of the proprietary and his future generations, to wit:

In August, 1684, he says, he sends Ralph, his gardener, some walnut-trees to set, and some seeds of his own raising which are rare good. He urges Ralph to stick to his garden, and to get the yards fenced in, and doors to them. By an Irish ship, he says, he sends butter, cheese, shoes, &c.—some beer at £10 a ton, and some wine.

On the 18th of 11th month, 1684-5, he says, "I have sent herewith four servants, three carpenters, and a gardener; he had three more, but they failed him. I would (says he) have a kitchen, two larders, a wash-house, a room to iron in, a brew-house, and a Milan oven for baking, a stable for twelve horses; all my rooms I would have nine feet high, and my stables eleven feet, and overhead half a story. What you *can*, do with *bricks*. What you can't, do it with good timbers, and case them with clap boards, about five feet, which will serve other things, and we can brick it afterwards." [Probably this was never done so afterwards, and furnished a cause of premature decay.]

"Pray, let the court-yard be levelled, and the fields and places about house be cleanly and orderly kept: so let me see thy conduct and contrivance about grounds and farm accommodations. I hope *the barge* is kept safely. Let Ralph take the lower grounds of the garden, and the other, his helper, the upper grounds and courts—have too a convenient well, or pump, for the several offices.

"I desire that a pair of handsome plain steps be made at the landing right against the house, also the bridge more passable going to John Rowland's, unless one over the creek near the New England people may be better done.

"I would have a walk to the falls [meaning in the direction to them] and to the point where S. H.'s son built, cleared

so as two may walk a foot. It would be pleasant, if the old *Indian paths* were cleared up.

"Pray, secure the refusal of the New England people's farms—I have some in my eye that will buy them.

"Let there be a two-leaved door back, and have a new one in one for the front, as the present is most ugly and low. I would have a rail and banisters before both fronts. The pales will serve *round*, though they are sad ones.

The 19th of 3d month, 1685, he writes and says, "I like all thou hast sent me. I hope they go on with the *houses* and *gardens*, and let them *finish* that which is built as fast as they can. The partition between the left parlour and the great room the servants used to eat in should be wainscotted up. The doors had best be large between the other parlour and the withdrawing room.

"If the cattle of Col. Lloyd's are not brought home from Maryland, dissolve the bargain, because I will supply beef from Ireland. The last I sent went by way of Barbadoes.

"Let Ralph this fall get twenty young poplars of about 18 inches round, beheaded to 20 feet, to plant in the walk below the steps to the water.

"I mentioned the kinds of outhouses *wanted*, but I know how to shift. I am a man of Providence tost to and fro."

The 11th of 5th month, 1685, he writes and says, "tell Ralph I must depend on his perfecting his gardens—hay dust [is not this seed?] from Long Island, such as *I* sowed in *my* court-yard, is the best for our fields. I will send divers seeds for gardens and fields. About the house may be laid out into fields and grass, which is sweet and pleasant. I trust to provide myself at my coming with carpenters, husbandmen, and brick-layers and makers. I hope care is had of my three mares and their colts. I intend more when I come, and a fine horse. A good dairy my wife will love."

The 4th of 8th month, 1685, he says, "I hear poor Ralph is dead. Let Nicholas then follow it (the garden) diligently, and I will reward him. Do not much *hiring* of carpenters and joiners. That I sent will do. Assure my servants, if they prove faithful and diligent, I will be kind to them in land and other things at my return. By this ship, I purpose to send some haws, hazle-nuts, walnuts, garden seeds, &c.

In another letter he says, "I have now sent a gardener [in place of Ralph deceased] with requisites. Let him have help of two or three men when needful. He is to have his passage paid and £30, and 60 acres of land at 3 years, and a month in each year to himself. He to train me a man and a boy. There comes also a Dutchman, a joiner and a carpenter, that is to work 150 days, and pay me 5 or £7 country money, for £7 sterling lent him. Let him wainscot and make tables and stands: but chiefly help on the outhouses, because we shall *bring much furniture*."

"I would have Nicholas (the gardener) have as many roots and flowers next spring by transplanting them *out of the* woods, as he can."

7th of 9th month, 1685, he writes and says, "I am glad the Indian fields bore so well. Lay as much down as you can with hay dust, and clear away the wood up the river to open a prospect upwards as well as downwards. Get some wooden chairs of walnut with long backs, and two or three eating-tables for 12, 8, and 5 persons with falling leaves to them."

17th of 9th month, 1685, he says, "P. Ford has sent James Reed more trees, seeds, and sciences (scions), which James my gardener *here* bought. Tell James I would have him lay in a good stock before he parts with any thing I send him. I would send free stones for the steps, if he had the dimensions. What you build is best done with bricks. The man I sent can make them. A better kitchen would do well

with milk-house, stable, &c. but all by degrees. There is gravel *for walks* that is *red* at Philadelphia, near the swamp. In what you build, let there be low lodgings over head of eight feet. Let all be *uniform*, and not *a scu*, from the house. Get and plant as much quick as you can about fields, and lay them out large, at least 12 acres in each."

In 1686, he writes, "I send a wheelwright, who can also work as a carpenter. I should be glad to see a draft of Pennsbury, [and so might we!] which an artist would quickly make, with the landscape of the house, outhouses, their proportions and distance from each other. Tell me how the peach and apple orchards bear. Of what are the outhouses built, and how they stand to the house. Pray don't let the fronts of the house be common. I leave thee whether to go on with my sons' land above Welcome Creek or no."

Such is the early history of the munificent expenditures and intentions of Penn.

A letter of Wm. Penn's to James Logan of the 23d of 5th mo. 1700, *then at Pennsbury*, says, that because of an injury done his leg, he is unable to meet the council, &c. and therefore desires that four of the council, the collector and minister, and witnesses, to come up to him *by his barge*, which he will send to Burlington. He adds too, "let the Indians come hither and send in the boat more rum, and the match coats, and let the council adjourn *to this place*. Here will be victuals." At this time he speaks also of his coach or "calash" and horses then in Philadelphia, and of his man John (a black man) to drive it.

The above letter seems to indicate an assemblage, or gathering for a treaty. It would seem there must have been a plurality of such Indian assemblages, for in 1701 John Richardson, in his journal, tells of his being there when many Indians and chiefs were then *to revive* their covenants

with Wm. Penn before his return home. There they received presents, held their canico or worship by dancing around a fire prepared on the ground.

In 1703-4, when young William Penn came to this country, there assembled as many as one hundred Indians and nine kings at Pennsbury, to greet his arrival there.

After Penn had gone back to England, the Pennsbury place was retained some time in hopes of his return, but as they found this less and less probable, it was rented in 1707 merely to keep it in occupancy, to Col. Quarry of the customs for £40 a year for house and gardens only, on condition he should keep it in repair, and be ready to render it back when required. But almost as soon as he agreed he relinquished it, from hearing of Penn's embarrassments by "the claim of the Ponds." In 1708 Wm. Penn writes, saying, "let Wm. Watson that comes from Bristol, keep all in order till we come."

Penn's furniture remained long at Pennsbury after his death. And at all times there was preserved a set room for the use of any of the Proprietaries when they should visit them. Charles Thomson talked of seeing Penn's bed when he was there. Mrs. D. Logan saw there his quilt of white holland quilted with green silk in figures by Letitia. A gentleman of Bucks County told me it was understood that for years it was deemed a kind of pious stealth to bear off some of the articles—one of them had the mantle piece, much prized, and another had his plush breeches; his clock and secretary desk are still known.

Pennsbury in former times used to be much visited by persons from Burlington. With them the idea was very prevalent that the mansion had a "fish pond," on the top of it. The story doubtless arose from its having had originally a leade reservoir there to retain water as a security

against fire. As early as the year 1700 I saw that Wm. Penn spoke of the house as leaking, saying, " it suffers in great rains; send Lessel up to mend the leads *if he dare undertake it*, speedily"—and when in England in 1701, he says to James Logan, " mind that the leads are mended."

In the year 1826 I made a short visit to Pennsbury to see the remains of what had been Penn's palace. I shall here set down some of my notes then made.

> " These to the feeling heart are hallowed haunts,
> Though but in ruins seen and faintly traced."

Our approach to the place, through the manor, presented a general level and rich soil; and from the river side the aspect of the country was low and tame, such as would never attract the notice of passengers passing in the daily steam-boats. " The Welcome Creek," was no longer known as such, but we found it half a mile south of the mansion, dammed across, and sluiced at its mouth—near there we ascertained that the land of Robert Crozier was so productive as to produce twenty-three bushels of wheat to the acre, and four hundred and thirty-six bushels of rye from eleven bushels seed on fifteen acres. Welcome Creek once five feet deep—now shallow, originally went round Pennsbury farm so as to have made it into an island in high tides—over these Penn once had *bridges* " going to Mr. Rowland's," and the other " towards the New England people's."

The original front of the mansion—standing back seventy yards from the shore, was sixty feet long and its depth forty feet; the line of the *good* old wall is still to be traced by digging a little under the present grassy surface. Only a part of it had a cellar, some of it still laying open. The

garden, a sloping one, lay in front of the house, and the offices were in a front line with the mansion, having a lane still there of forty feet wide, which separated them from the house. The brew-house and malt-house under the same roof, equal to fifty feet by thirty-five feet, were the nearest to the lane. The well still used, was in the middle of the said lane. The only remaining building is the frame *brew-house*, the malt-house in its rear being pulled down, and that house was repaired as a temporary dwelling at the time they pulled down the mansion. The foundation of the offices, now a garden plot, covered an area of about one hundred feet along the front of the river, north of the mansion, and extended back about sixty feet westward. These facts in general, I learned from Robert Crozier, who who born on the premises. Along the lane is a long row of ancient cherry trees; English red-hearts. Along the lawn fronting the original mansion, near the river, are the stumps of a triple row of great walnut trees. The mother of Robert Crozier, an aged woman, had many traditions to relate. The back part of the mansion had a long piazza in the rear; one room was called the spirit room, because it was always kept locked as the proprietaries' bed room, &c. and from its being so perpetually closed, it was deemed to have been haunted. It was hung with tapestry, which all decayed by neglect or want of air. This was also confirmed to me by the present Joseph Hopkinson, Esq. who remembered to have so seen it when he was a boy. Like those who had preceded me, I brought away a relic—a piece of the carved capital of the pilaster once at the front door.

SPEECH

OF

WILLIAM PENN,

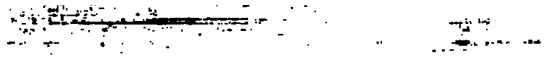
ADDRESSED TO

THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

APRIL 1st, 1700.

Read at a Meeting of the Society, Feb. 20, 1828.



A SPEECH OF WILLIAM PENN.

COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL,

IN THE WRITING OF PATRICK ROBINSON,

BY J. F. F.

Att a provincial council held att Philadelphia, die Lunæ y^{e} 1st of y$_{e}$ 2d mo., April 1700.

Present Wm. Penn, Proprietor and Governor.

[The Sheriff's returns of the elections of representatives in council for the counties of Bucks, Philadelphia, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex were presented and read, and the declaration of allegiance was subscribed, when the said members of council being declared duly qualified.] The Proprietor and Governor said:

"Friends,

Altho' this be a Colonie of 19 years standing, and not inferior to any of its age and establishing, yet wee have much to do to make a free Constitution, and y^{e} Courts of Justice therein. There are in it some laws which may be accounted obsolete, others hurtfull, others imperfect, that will need improvement; and it will be requisit to make some new ones. Wee cannot go too slowly to make them, nor too fast to execute them when made, and that with diligence and discretion. A few well made and duly executed, will better answer the ends of government than a great bulk unexecuted. You, Friends, are the people's

choice and my Council: You will see what laws are fitt to be left out, and what are fitt to be made, and you with me are to prepare and propose them. I say this the rather, because of a false notion some have got, that because you are my Council, therefore, you are not the people's representatives. The ablest men have always been chosen to be of the Council to prepare Laws, and the assembly are to consent to them. Tho' two bodies, yet are we but one power: the one prepares, the other consents.

Friends—If in the Constitution by Charter there be any thing that jarrs—alter it. If you want a law for this or that, prepare it; I advise you not to trifle with Government; I wish there were no need of any, but since crimes prevail, government is made necessary by man's degeneracie. Government is not an end but a means; he who thinks it to be an end, aims at profit—to make a trade of it—but he who thinks it to be a means, understands the true end of Government.

Friends—Away with all parties, and look on yourselves, and on what is good for all, as a bodie politick; first as under the King and Crown of England, and next as under mee by Letters patent from that Crown.

At the late Election in Philadelphia, I was grieved to hear some make it a matter of religion. It is merely a humane and moral thing relating to society, trade, traffique, and publick good, consisting in virtue and justice; where these are maintained, there is government indeed. Studie peace and be at unity. Provide for the good of all; and I desire to see mine no otherwise than in the publick's prosperity.

The last Assembly made two laws against piracy and forbidden trade. I heare they have not satt easie on the books of some, but I hope wee having therein been carefull,

wee shall have thanks for makeing them befor wee had orders so to do; and after so many calumnies and complaints wee have been loaded with, I hope those two laws will in some degree wash us clean. What concerns myself I also leave it with you to consider. I have been now nineteen years your Proprietor and Governor, and have att my charge maintained my Deputy, whereby I have much worsted myself and estate. I hope it will be no wonder to any here, to hear mee make this mention of it.

Some say I come to gett money and be gone, but perhaps they that say so wish it so; I hope I or mine shall be with you while I or they live. The disasters of my absence have been mine as well as yours; and as I am used shall make suitable returns.

I have lately two packetts from Whitehall, an original and a duplicate; also one for my cosin Markham, and two from Secretarie Vernon: and am commanded by the Lords Justices to make laws against piracie and unlawful trade. I am glad we have prevented their commands in doing it before they came."

Thereafter, a motion being made by a member of Council that we should begin on a good foundation, and, therefore, desired that they might have a new charter. The Proprietor and Governor desired each member to speak his mind freely, which each member present did. Then the Proprietor and Governor asked "whether they thought the Charter was living, dead, or asleep? Is it vacated by the act of settlement, or in what estate is it?"

A member made answer. It is clear we never looked on it to be void or dead; because at Governor Fletcher's coming, we made a salvo of it in our Assembly books, and another salvo of it in the frame of Government as to its fundamentals, but the circumstantials of it, as to time, place, number, and rotation, we could not re-assume.

Our business now is to do good, the Governor being here to confirm it: and the Governor having in the charter power to call us in what manner he pleases is but circumstance: the meeting is essential. Let us take what is fitt and good both in the Charter and frame of Government, and let us make a Constitution that may be firm and lasting to us and ours. This makes no breach in the old laws, but will confirm what is re-assumable in them, the Charter and the Frame of Government.

Then the Governor said—"The Act of Settlement served till I came, now I am come it cannot bind me against my own act, the Charter, it being my grant, and the people my witnesses by accepting of it; and tho' some violence cannot be resisted, yet when the violence is taken off, the charter revives."

Thereafter the Governor and Proprietor "resolved the whole Council into a Grand Committee, to meet at the third hour in the afternoon, to read the Charter and Frame of Government, and to adopt what is good in either, to lay aside what is inconvenient and burdensome, and to add to both what may best suit the common good of all: And if you be under any doubt or scruple, I will endeavour to solve it. And present to me what you doe therein by to-morrow morning for my perusal."

COLONEL ROBERT QUARRY'S INFORMATION

AGAINST THE

GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN

Two Memorials

PRESENTED TO

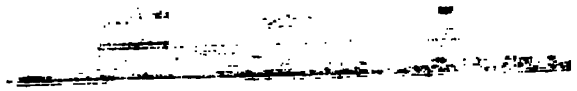
THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS FOR TRADE AND FOREIGN PLANTATIONS.

WITH

WILLIAM PENN'S ANSWER THERETO.

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. D. LOGAN OF STENTON.

Read at a Meeting of the Council, March 17, 1830.



COPY

OF

COL. QUARRY'S INFORMATION

AGAINST THE

GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Abstract of several Informations relating to irregular Proceedings and other undue Practices in Pennsylvania.

1. THAT an illegal trade is carried on there, more than ever—sloops are purposely employed to go out of the Capes, and take on board goods brought by other vessels from Curasoa, which they land at Philadelphia, or elsewhere. And then the vessels that brought them come up to Philadelphia in ballast, as if they had brought nothing.

2. The acts past in Pennsylvania to prevent illegal trade, are not put in execution, as neither the acts of trade made here.

3. Mr. Penn, having appointed water bailiffs by his own authority, has invaded thereby the jurisdiction of the Admiralty as established by the King.

4. There is neither any militia established, nor any provision made of arms or ammunition: but the country is left defenceless, and exposed to all hazards both by land and sea. Of which the representatives from the lower counties have several times complained to Mr. Penn, but without any effect.

5. Mr. Penn endeavours all he can, to invite foreign and French Indians, known to be villainous, and that lately came from Canada to settle in this country for the benefit of a trade with them; which he takes care wholly to engross to himself, by ordering the Indians not to permit any to trade with them, but such as produce an indented license under his seal. What his profit may be thereby is not known: but it is apprehended this practice may tend to endanger the lives of many thousands of Her Majesty's subjects.

6. Mr. Penn prevailed on the assembly, at one sitting, to make a present to him of 2000 pounds, and further to settle upon him 1000 per ann. and upwards, in taxes. The expenses of their several sittings whilst he was there, amounted to above 600 pounds. But he has not disposed them to raise the small quota of 350 pounds which was signified to be requisite towards the defence of New York; they excusing themselves chiefly upon account of the want of a settled militia, arms and ammunition for their own defence: which has indisposed them to any compliance with the quota of men for New York in case of an attack; though it be a condition upon which the government was restored to him.

7. The representatives of the three lower counties, in an address to Mr. Penn, have further represented, "That instead of reaping the security designed by the laws passed at New Castle, they find that the most essential of those laws, and which nearest concern them, and their estates, have not been sent home for His Majesty's approbation, especially those for qualification of magistrates and juries, and those for establishing property, and raising money.

8. Those representatives being doubtful of Mr. Penn's right to the government of those counties, they desired a sight of his deeds of feoffment. But instead thereof they were threatened with a gaol, without bail, till either the King's

pleasure should be known, or Mr. Penn's return to this country. And by these proceedings being made more doubtful of the validity of the laws passed at New Castle, they refused to confirm the same.

9. In relation to the administration of justice, information has been given of three particular cases of very heinous crimes. One of which was a woman committed for murder of her natural child, and confessing the fact, was either acquitted or pardoned; and the others who were men, one, the son of an eminent Quaker, by several shuffling and irregular practices, got off without tryal.

10. Further information has been given, of a jury who, not agreeing upon a verdict, in a cause with which they were charged, determined themselves by hustle cap.

11. Appeals have not been granted from sentences in courts in Pennsylvania to His Majesty in council here; particularly in the case of Thomas Byfield against John King.

12. The deputy governour, left by Mr. Penn, is not qualified by his majestie's approbation, or otherwise as requisite by law. Nor has Mr. Penn ever given security for any deputy governour, as described by the address of the house of lords of 18th of March, 1696.

WILLIAM PENN'S ANSWER

TO

COL. QUARRY'S INFORMATION

AGAINST THE

GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Answers to the Abstract of Complaints against Proceedings in Pennsilvania.

1. THIS is more than I know. And wonder (if it be true) that Col. Quarry (who, I perceive, presents these informations to this honourable board) never told me so before. For I never heard of but one vessel that played us such a trick. And I wish that Col. Quarry and his officers had been more vigorous to prevent it. But for the vindication of our merchants, and of that colony, I must desire Col. Quarry to prove the charge, and that due course may be taken to punish the faulty, and prevent such things for the future.

2. I pray proof of this also: for he never complained to me, that I can remember, of such neglect. But this I know, that he told me that he thought I was too hard upon the tobacco planters in making that law, for by that law the hogsheads of tobacco were to be weighed at their shipping,

because they used to pass formerly at 400 weight by content, though perhaps they, or the merchants, crowded in 7, 8, or 900 weights into a hogshead. By which the king lost at 10*s.* per cwt. not less than 30, 40, or 50 shillings per hhd. which in a thousand hhds. come to 1500 or 2000 pounds.

2. Col. Quarry, in his letter to this board, laid the charge, as if I had granted that commission to all the sheriffs. But of six sheriffs for the six counties, two only had them. They were granted of necessity, to suppress great disorders upon the water and in his absence, and never disputed by his deputy. And when objected against by himself at his return (after six months' absence, upon his traffic into other colonies) I did immediately command the sheriffs to forbear acting by them until further orders. One of them never had, and the other but twice and on slight occasions. However it was drawn by one that Lord Bellamont had made a councillor at New York and naval officer thereof, well acquainted in such matters. And I offered to join with him to represent it home to this and the admiralty board, to give us our true boundaries, as the king's council in both laws should advise. Which he once promised, and best knows why he did not perform it.

4th. There is as much as was in Colonel Fletcher's time. And the same governor I continued in command by the Queen's direction; all commissions being, by proclamation, to remain in force till revoked, and they never were; but it is a mistake that I had my government restored to me upon those terms—let the royal instrument be consulted. Nor was my right ever dissolved; or the interruption given me to be by law vindicated. And for the country's being left defenceless: 'tis an imposition upon the lords to tell them that a militia can secure it—since by land there is none to annoy it; and by sea, the position of the country, and the

manner of our settlement considered, (our distance from the Capes being 160 miles, New Castle 120,) and the shoals and narrows so many, that a small vessel of war would, under God's providence, be the best security.

5th. I never, to my knowledge, invited or entertained one French Indian in my life; but discouraged Frenchmen, employed by Col. Quarry or his customers, from trading with our Indians, (the cause of that restraint,) that they might not debauch them from the English friendship and interest. All which is notorious in those parts, where the truth can only be examined and found out. My profit by the Indians was never sixpence; but my known perpetual bounties to them, have cost me many hundreds of pounds, if not some thousands, first and last; but this shows a necessity of a "melius inquirendum" upon the place.

6th. I acknowledge y_e 2000 that money, (which makes not the 1200 English) but his 1000 is not above 700 that money, nor 500 this and near expired. But is that such a recompense, when five times the sum is less than my due? having not had for twenty years one farthing, but maintained the deputy governor at my own charge? And yet more than half of what they gave me is yet unpaid; and if Col. Quarry and his factious adherents can obstruct it, will never be paid me. Whereas, had the law of imposts, given me in 1683, been received by me, it had been 20,000 pounds and more money in my way; and which was only by me waived for a few years, in our infancy, upon promises never performed to me. But for the 350 pounds y^e King writt to me about; I did not only endeavour to raise it by calling an assembly, (and which helps up the charge of the 600 he talks of) but writt to the governor of New York, that if I paid the 350 myself, he should not want such a sum for the King's service. Whose answer was, that he neither wanted men nor money, but

Col. Kremer, the engineer that the New Englanders kept from him: nor was it at the same session of assembly, that gave me that supply, but more than a year after. Therefore it cannot be justly concluded, that I preferred my own wants to the King's service. And it was poverty more than defence, that was the excuse of the lower counties for not contributing to it, where a ship only, as before, is their best security; the town of Philadelphia, or at least the county, being in reallity worth more than all the inhabitants of the lower counties, who yet have equal privileges with the whole province, on whose account he makes this reflection upon us. However they are not singular, Virginia and Maryland, old and opulent, as well as King's colonies, having declined their quotas.

7th. It was then declared to them and consented to, that the imperfection of some laws in matter and wording, would require a review another session. And none were kept back, but those that were made towards the end of the session, when the early frost setting in so hard, that the sickliness of the place made the members impatient of further stay. Nor am I (as I presume) obliged by my patent, to send them in so short a time: however I expect them daily.

8th. They had the sight of the deed of feofment; and were also told by me, it was upon record at New York. And for threatening them with a gaol, it is a most abusive perversion, for what was said, was to a member, but *of* one that was *not* a member, that was supposed to have sown such reflections about the town by himself or agents: and upon that I said, "tell me his name, and prove it upon him, and I will take care to lay him where I shall prevent his seditious practices, untill the king's commands are known, or the law release him." This is the truth of the case, and I am still of the same mind, for the preservation of the common peace;

did I know how to preserve it otherwise: and I thank God, it continues still, and hope will, until the queen's pleasure shall be known: while our neighbours at New York are in such confusion and extremity; though not only a king's colony, but one of the most importance.

9th. For this foul charge I might refer the board to the records of the county. However, I will say thus much: nobody complained to me of it, nor appealed about the first of them: but I have heard that the single witness against the prisoner ran away, and was a fellow of no credit into the bargain, upon which, after a long imprisonment, the man was discharged in open court of quarter sessions.

For the woman (prisoner), she is neither pardoned nor acquitted; but the whole case lies with Secretary Vernon, to whom I sent it for the king's mind, who only could pardon her: and for want of a sufficient prison, is still in custody (if living) of y^e^ sheriff, who waits for directions therein. Which representation was at the instance and address of the Swedish minister and congregation, that pleaded, 1st. That it was her own discovery. 2dly. That it was five years after the fact. 3dly. Her extream sorrow and repentance, of which the discovery was an instance.

As to the other charge. The parties married, and in the opinion of the two only lawyers of y^e^ place, (and one of them the king's advocate, of the admiralty, and the attorney general of the country,) her evidence was thereby enervated. But because the marriage was not so regular as the law required, I ordered the prosecution of it with the utmost rigour; as the minutes of council will show.

For the reflection upon our profession in styling the father, "an eminent Quaker." First, the father was but a late comer, and little known. And secondly, far from eminent there or here, but of all held a quiet, honest man, who had been his

son's security, y^e^ time [*several words obliterated*] nor was it at last admitted without good authorities in law.

10th. That was true; and they punished for it; or I had severely prosecuted them. But this was done some time before my arrival.

11th. This I must positively disown; for I never did deny one; nor was ever appealed or complained to. If any Court in my Government presumed to do so, I hope I know better things in justice and prudence, than to countenance or endure it.

12th. It was no fault of mine; since I could not stay to receive it. But his name was sent over by me to my son, for that service, above a year before I thought of my hasty return; but it was, it seems, omitted to be presented, because of the doubtful issue of the bill then in Parliament against us. However, I have the opinion of Chief Justice Attwood at New York; that being a Governor in my own right, till the Sovereign could be apprised of it, the appointment I made was good. And Col. Quarry cannot but know, that necessity is ever a commission; and that I was under an absolute one, both to come, and to choose him; seeing there was not another person in either Province (not a Quaker) capable of it; unless my last Lieutenant Governor, that I had displaced upon the King's commands in 1699. And I hope, whatever be Col. Quarry's point, the Lords will judge of my proceedings, according to the nature of public exigencies.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PENN.

A COPY OF A SECOND COMPLAINT.

To the right honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Foreign Plantations.

A memorial most humbly presented by Col. Robert Quarry, Humbly presenteth:

That by several letters received from Pennsilvania I have the following account.

1st. That Anthony Morris, who as a magistrate did give a warrant for the taking by force out of her Majesty's stores, a parcel of prohibited goods, which were under seizure; of which unlawful act, an account being sent home, the Governor, Mr. Penn, was ordered to turn the said Anthony Morris out of all offices, and prosecute him for the crime.

That in obedience to his late majestie's commands, and the orders of this honourable board, Mr. Penn did turn out the said Morris to answer his turn for the present occasion; but has now restored him again, and made him one of his chief magistrates.

2d. That Mr. Penn hath, in a late charter granted to the people of the city of Philadelphia, given to the sheriffs almost all the power of the Admiralty, even to the capes of the Bay, under pretence of water bailiffs.

3d. That several vessels being lately seized for breach of the several acts of parliament; the government have, in open contempt of the admiralty power, brought the information against the said vessels into their courts of common law.

4th. That Mr. Penn has commissioned his kinsman, one Parmyter, to be the Attorney General, who is convicted of felony, perjury and forgery, as may appear to your Lordships from the records of the city of Bristol.

5th. That about three years since there was a dedimus,

under the great seal of England, sent to Pennsilvania, empowering Edmund Randolph, John Moore, Jasper Yeates, John Hollwel, Edward Chilton, Esqrs. and myself, or any one of us, to administer the oaths to all such persons, which from time to time should take upon themselves the Government of Pennsilvania: and in case of our death or absence, then the members of the council, together with the principal officers of the customs, had power to administer the oaths according to law. That the said dedimus was carried to the Secretary to have it recorded in his office, and is forcibly detained by the Governor of Pennsilvania from the said commissioners, on purpose to prevent them from executing the powers of the said commission. And thereby persons have assumed the government without being qualified as the law directs.

I do humbly propose, that your Lordships will please to order that the dedimus may be delivered to the commissioners, unto whom it is directed, that so they may be enabled to obey his majesty's commands, and answer the ends of the law.

6th. That information hath been given to Col. Hamilton, how that the French are settling themselves on the back of Pennsilvania, about four daies' journey from New Castle. That one Lewis Lemoizen, a Frenchman, who has lived many years in Pennsilvania, and traded with the Indians, is run away to them with two Canada Indians, that were sent as spies to view the nakedness of that country: by which means the French will have the full knowledge of that country and its defenceless condition, which makes the inhabitants dread the consequence.

All which is humbly offered to your lordships' consideration,

By your lordships' most obedient servant,

ROBERT QUARRY.

AN ANSWER

To Col. Quarry's Second Memorial presented to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

To the three first paragraphs relating to Anthony Morris. If I may say so mean a thing of myself, I had long ago Col. Quarry's licence to re-employ that man, after a thorough examination of him about the old business of the replevin, in council, Col. Quarry present. It appearing evidently to his satisfaction, that he was not only surprised by the lawyer who brought it to him to sign, but threatened into it that if he did not do it he denied justice to one of the king's subjects. Upon which, as well as a private discourse between Col. Quarry and the said Morris, he declared, "If what he had writ of him were to do again, he would not do it; for that he believed he was imposed upon." Besides this, we have next to no choice in those parts, and he had been one of the most sufficient as well as diligent magistrate there.

To the 4th paragraph. I have heard but of one vessel since my leaving the province, against which an information was brought to the courts of common pleas, and I am sure there was none during the time I was there. The officers' letter that exhibited the information is the best answer that I can give; besides the notorious obscurity, if not apparent contradiction of the law of the 7th and 8th of the late king so often complain'd of, in my hearing at your own board, as well as at the admiralty and elsewhere, upon which this

dispute arises. And it were happy there were plainer directions to officers in their duty.

To the 5th paragraph. I desire that Col. Quarry may produce his proofs and authority for the charge therein contained. But if I had commissioned that gentleman my Attorney General, after having been preferred by a King's Governor of Lord Bellamont's quality and character, both to be one of the king's council, and his naval officer of so eminent a colony as that of New York, I cannot see the offence. And if men as guilty as he is said to have been, must, after repentance as well as pardon, never have been employed, some colonies would have wanted many a good officer and magistrate; to say no more.

To the 6th and and 7th paragraph I am wholly a stranger, having never been asked for such an instrument, nor heard it was ever refused by any officer in the government. This must have been before my arrival, or since my return from the province. And what is fit for me to do in the matter shall be complied with.

To the 8th and last paragraph. I know not what information has been given to Col. Hamilton; but dare say for him, he neither wants sense, vigilancé, courage or loyalty, to do what becomes him in such a conjuncture. But as there have been many false alarms, his silence to me makes me believe this to be another. And as to Lewis Lemoizin, if he be run away, it is to some of the five nations under New York government from whence he had his wife; and that from the uneasiness I gave him in his traffic with our Indians under my government, lest he should negotiate any thing to the disadvantage of the English interest. But both this man and one Peter Barzallion, I have been told, were the great factors for the company in the Indian trade, of which Col. Quarry is the chief agent—and for his spys and

defenceless condition of the province; it is a story, I would hope, could not possibly pass upon your understandings. The French are not now to know the condition of the back parts of all the English colonies upon the continent, and therefore his spy is, with me, but a vain conjecture. Neither are we more defenceless than Maryland or Virginia; nor indeed is it possible to defend scattered settlements against surprises, if the French should come so far as to make them; which is next to impracticable. Nor can they reach us, without passing through the aforesaid five nations of warlike Indians and several of our English colonies. But the danger to them has never been from French, but from their own Indians, nor from them but upon repeated injuries and provocations given them, which I thank God our folks have escaped these twenty years, as defenceless a people as we are rendered, because we have not only been just, but very kind to them, as I am ready to make appear from their own testimonials. And if any danger is like to attend us (as they that hide can find so) let me wish that Col. Quarry and his few factious adherents may never be the cause of verifying the suggestions from his known inveteracy to us. I could say more upon this head. And if what he has alleged can have weight enough with this honourable board to find credit against us, I must, in the name of the inhabitants of that province, beseech the lords to represent to the Queen the necessity of a free and impartial inquiry upon the spot, into the truth of his information. For after charges so black and enormous, there is no avoiding the nicest scrutiny.

I humbly add, that for the safety as well as peace of the province, I have deputed a gentleman of known good qualities to answer that end, if the Queen shall please to add her necessary qualification.

MINUTES OF A CONFERENCE

HELD BY

WILLIAM MARKHAM, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

WITH

Several Delaware and Susquehanna Indians,

JULY 6, 1694.

Extracted from the Minutes of the Council in the writing of Patrick Robinson.

READ AT A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, APRIL 21, 1830.

MINUTES, &c.

Att a Councill held att Philadelphia, the sixth of July, Annoque Dom. 1694:—

Present, Coll. Wm. Markham, Esqr., Lieut. Governor;
Andr. Robeson, Lacey Cock, Esqr.;
Robert Turner, Esqrs; Pat. Robinson, Sec'y.

The Lieut. Gov'r acquainted the Councill that the reason of his calling them together was, that yesterday Lacey Cock, Esqr. informed him that the Delaware Indians were come down to discourse with them.

Hithquoquean, Kyanharro, Shak****, Oriter, Menanzes, Mohocksey, Tamanee, ******, with severall others of the Delaware Indians, were admitted.

Hithquoquean, in name of the rest of the Delaware Indians, took out and laid down a belt of wampum, which he said was sent to them by the Onondages and Senekas; who say, "You Delawar Indians do nothing but stay at home and boil your potts, and are like women; while we Onondages and Senekas goe abroad and fight against the enemie. The Senekas wold have us Delawar Indians to be partners with them to fight against the French, but wee having alwayes been a peaceable people, and resolving to live so; and being but weak, and verie few in number, cannot assist them; and having resolved among ourselves not to goe, doe intend to send back this their belt of wampum: we, therefore, desire to know how the Gov'r of New

York and Pennsilvania stands affected, and is inclined towards us, and give a belt of wampum."

Mohocksey said, "The former belt sent by the Onondages and Senekas is sent to us all, and wee have acquainted one another with it; and though wee live on the other side of the river, yet wee reckon ourselves all one, because wee drink one water. We have had a continued friendship with all the Christians and old inhabitants of this river since I was a young man, and am desirous to continue the same so long as wee live—and give a belt of wampum."

Tamanee said, "We and the Christians of this river have always had a free road to one another; and though sometimes a tree has fallen across the road, yet wee have still removed it again and kept the path clean; and wee design to continue the old friendship that has been between us and you—and doe give a belt of wampum."

The Lieut. Gov'r said, that by 3 of the Clocke in the afternoon, he wold consider and give them an answer.

3 A Clock afternoon—præsentibus iisdem except Andrew Robeson.

Lacey Cock, Esq'r, acquainted the Lieut. Gov'r. that Kyanharro and Oriter, two Susquehanna Indians present, had something to say; and, in respect they could not be understood, desired Menanzes to speak for them.

Menanzes sayes, that a certain Indian king, being Kyanharro's old acquaintance, having come from the Kyogues to Kyanharro's house to see him; and on his way the said king and his Kyanesse Indians had some mischance befallen them, for the * * * * * the Nakees Indians fell upon them; but the said king and his Kyanesse Indians fought their way through them and gott to Kyanharro's house, where they desired to remain and be maintained in a peaceable countrie. Menanzes in their name gives six doe skins.

To whom Kyanharro replied, you are of my blood, I cannot deny you, but must receive you.

And the said Kyanesse Indians desired, that Kyanharro wold speak with the Christians, that they wold receive them with the same kindness as he did; and as they are here protected by the Christians, the said Kyanesse Indians hope to meet with the same protection—and give six doe skins.

The Lieut. Governor acquainted the said Indians, "that, on the 4th instant, John Budd informed him that an Indian king of West Jersie, with other Indians of this place, told him, that from a meeting they lately held within 25 miles of this Government they brought two belts of wampum, and delivered them to Capt. Cock to present them to his Excellency, in order to a treatie for confirming their former League with the English—that they complained that they had severall dayes delivered in their belts, and could have no hearing, but wer putt off by promises that they should be heard one day after another—that they tarried in Town 8 or 9 dayes, and that about 13 dayes since Mohocksey's sone came here and acquainted him, the said Budd, that hee was sent to see if the Philadelphians could give him a good word back—and that about ten dayes since, the said informant being at Peter Stallcupp's house, in New Castle Countie, said Stallcupp told him, that an Indian, called Nestacatho, there informed an Indian king named Awahelah, saying, We've ill news (repeating it again); and said, you know that from such a meeting we sent two belts of wampum, in order to a treatie, but the Govern'r of New York wold not treat with us—and they have had in Philadelphia a great number of men with drums and guns, &c., and the same at New Castle while the Govern'r was there—and that he went thence to Maryland with such speed that they killed two horses on the way. Which things look with a verie ill

design—we believe that there is no good meant by the English—and there is some speedy matter in hand. The said Budd further saith, that last Monday hee acquainted Joseph Wilcox with the substance of the above written."

The Lieut. Governor ask'd the Indians if the said information was true. They answered, itt was all false—there was no such meeting, nor no such design to treat with Governor Fletcher, nor an hearing ask'd—and if Mohockway's sone, or their young men when drunk, told John Budd any such thing, he should not make such a storie of it, unles he had itt from their Sachems.

Lacey Cock also said, that the two belts were given him by Tannance and Hithquoqueen, to be kept for them till they should call for them.

The Lieut. Governor told Mr. Budd, that "hee was much to blame for giving his information first to the Justice, (who never acquainted him of it, nor of his information,) especially since itt concerned the peace of the Province in generall; and for that hee came not to him till hee was sent for; and that if hee committed the like again, he should not goe unpunish'd," and so dismis'd him.

Then the Lieutenant Governor (by Lacey Cock interpreter) answered the Indians:—

"You did verie prudentlie, to consider well how you entered in a war without advice and consent of their Majesties of Great Britain's Chief Governor here, who is Governor of New Yorke. I heare there are sober and wise men among you; and there is an old man, who cannot come down, who can give you good Councill.

"And you must be considerat in what you doe, for we have enemies round about us.

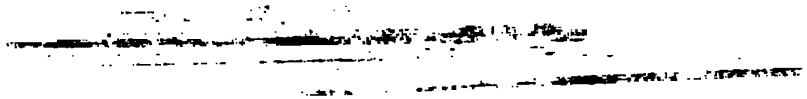
"It is but late that wee took up armes, and I assure you, it is not our design thereby to make warr upon you or upon

any others; but thereby to be in a cappacitie and readiness to defend ourselves and you from our and your common enemie the French, if they should happen to assault us or you.

"His Excellency the Governo^{r} of New York is also Chief Governo^{r} of this Province, and came hither to see what men and money he could raise for the defence of Albany and the frontiers, from the French and Indians. He carried some money with him, but suffered our men to stay at home to defend themselves and their countrie against the French. While here hee inquired how our Indians and wee Christians agreed? Wee answered that for many years wee had lived as brethren. Hee desired wee might continue our friendship, for, said he, the enemie of one is the enemie of both."

The Lieu^{t} Governo^{r} also said, "If the Senekas send again to you, do you send to me, and I will send an express to New York, and his Excellencie will take care that the Senekas shall doe you no injurie."

Soe they all departed verie well satisfied with the Lieu^{t} Governor's answer.



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FOR THE YEAR 1830.

Elected on the Evening of the First of February.

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